CALENDAR AND CHRONOLOGY, JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN

Biblical, Intertestamental and Patristic Studies

Roger T. Beckwith

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PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

To

Wayne Hankey
David Ousley
Jeffrey Steenson

Followers of the Truth
Who is also the Way and the Life

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Roger Beckwith.

INTRODUCTION

Calendars and chronologies are both concerned with time. Calendars relate time to recurring events, particularly in the realm of worship. Chronologies relate time to once-for-all events, in the realm of history. Calendars are concerned with days, weeks and months, and often do not extend beyond a year (though the ancient Jewish calendar extended further, to year-weeks and jubilees). Chronologies extend to long periods of years, and seldom concentrate on short periods except when the sequence of events is significant and open to doubt. Chronologies and calendars inevitably overlap, and sometimes the calendrical dates of historical events are important (as with the calendrical date of the Last Supper, discussed here in chapter 9). Occasionally, chronologies and calendars are deliberately combined (as by the Essenes, who structured their chronology on years, year-weeks and jubilees, in the way explained here in chapter 8). All in all, the two have sufficient in common to justify considering them together, as is done in this book, where chapters 1-6 are on calendrical questions, chapters 7 and 10 on chronological questions, and chapters 8 and 9 on both.

Since Christianity began as a school of thought within Judaism, and since both alike had their setting at that stage within a Hellenistic world, there is no need to apologise for including here both ancient Jewish and ancient Christian topics. They have much in common. Again, the fact that some of the topics are biblical (chapters 1-2, 9-10), some intertestamental (chapters 5-8), one patristic (chapter 3) and one a mixture of intertestamental and patristic (chapter 4), hardly needs defending, since these bodies of literature are all ancient and are interconnected. Indeed, the author hopes that he will have made the interconnection still more clear by the way he has been able to apply intertestamental data to the illumination of the Bible (as in chapters 2, 8 and 9) and to the illumination of patristic practice (as in chapters 3 and 4).

What may not be so self-evident is why this particular selection of topics has been made. Obviously, no attempt has been made to cover the whole field of ancient Jewish and Christian calendars and chronologies, and there are many other topics which could have been chosen. The reason for selecting these is their difficulty. Each chapter addresses a perplexing issue which is commonly left unsolved or (the author ventures to think) is solved in a facile or mistaken way; and though the solutions offered here can seldom claim to be more than probable, it is hoped that they will often be found more probable than rival solutions. If, in some cases, they turn out to

be only a further step on the way to a final solution, the author will be well satisfied to have achieved this limited degree of progress.

Two of the four biblical chapters deal with questions which have often been discussed before, though this is less the case with chapter 1, on the Day, and chapter 10, on a Time, Times and Half a Time. Chapter 1 argues that there are two (and probably only two) reckonings of the beginning and ending of the day in the biblical and intertestamental literature, but that they are complementary, not mutually exclusive. Chapter 10 argues that the three and a half times, or half a year-week, which are used to measure prophetic time in Daniel 7 and 9, are interpreted by the Revelation of John as meaning the period of the church's witness and sufferings between Christ's two comings. The chapters on more familiar themes (chapter 2, on the Sabbath and Sunday, and chapter 9, on the Date of the Crucifixion) are conservative in their conclusions but more original in their method of argumentation, making much use of intertestamental and rabbinical evidence to illustrate the statements of the New Testament.

The two patristic chapters are again on well-worn topics: chapter 3, on Easter and Whitsun, and chapter 4, on Christmas. Chapter 3 attempts to resolve the vexed question whether Easter and Whitsun are of apostolic or post-apostolic origin, arguing that (despite superficial indications to the contrary) New Testament, Jewish and patristic evidence all point to the latter conclusion. Chapter 4 shows the antiquity of the belief that Christ was born in mid-winter, being well over a century older than the festivals of Christmas and Epiphany at that season, and suggests that this could be a historical tradition, the tenuous arguments to the contrary notwithstanding.

The remaining chapters, chapters 5-8 (with which the latter half of chapter 4 may be grouped), are on more novel themes than the others, derived in whole or part from the Dead Sea Scrolls. Chapter 5 offers the most comprehensive examination, yet attempted, of the Qumran calendar, interpreting it with careful attention to its real historical setting. Chapters 4 and 6 reconstruct the operation of the 24 courses of the priests and Levites, both according to the Temple cycle and according to that of Qumran, and the latter chapter applies this reconstruction to provide a possible explanation of the eccentric Psalms scrolls among the Qumran finds. (See also chapter 5). Chapter 7 offers a revised history of the development of Jewish religious thought between the Testaments, following the altered chronology which the Qumran discoveries seem to demand, and re-examining the probable relationship between the different schools of thought, as indicated by their real tenets and aims. It considers and rejects the currently popular view that the Qumran community were Sadducees, in favour of the conventional view that they were Essenes. Chapter 8 examines the rival chronologies of past and sometimes future time, developed in the different Jewish schools and

among early Christians, including that found in the Book of Jubilees and the Dead Sea Scrolls, and notes their frequent use of Daniel 9 to determine the time of the coming of the Messiah, dating this event round about the beginning of the Christian era.

Calendars and chronologies both involve mathematics and astronomy, and it has not therefore been practicable to exclude such issues from the studies in this book, though technical language has as far as possible been avoided. The men of Qumran were ardent students of arithmetic, as chapters 4, 5, 6 and 8 show, and they were not entirely alone in this among their Jewish contemporaries. They also had strong, though mistaken, notions about astronomy, discussed in chapter 5; and the contemporary state of astronomical knowledge among the Jews is, in addition, very relevant to the question of the date of the crucifixion—the subject of chapter 9. Again, the advance of astronomical knowledge among Christians from the third century onwards is one of the topics covered in chapter 3.

All the essays in this book except the last one have in some form been published before, but several of them are now very considerably revised and all are updated. Chapter 1 first appeared in the *Evangelical Quarterly*, chapter 2 in the book *This is the Day* (with Wilfrid Stott, published by Marshall, Morgan and Scott), chapter 3 in *Studia Liturgica*, chapters 4-8 in the *Revue de Qumran*, and chapter 9 in the book *Chronos, Kairos, Christos* (ed. Vardaman and Yamauchi, published by Eisenbrauns). They reappear here with due acknowledgements and thanks to the original publishers.

CHAPTER ONE

THE DAY: ITS DIVISIONS AND ITS LIMITS IN BIBLICAL TIMES

1. The Day and its Divisions

In the Hebrew and Greek of the Old and New Testaments, as in the English of the twentieth century, the same term is used for the "day" in the sense of the complete circuit of the sun and in the sense of the period of light (as distinguished from the period of darkness) included within that circuit. The basic division of the "day", in the broader sense, is thus into the "day", in the narrower sense, and the "night". The "day", in the narrower sense, is itself divided by the Old Testament into three periods, "morning", "noonday" and "evening". That "noonday" can be a period and not just a point of time appears from the phrase in Isa. 16:3 "in the midst of the noonday", though the point within it at which midday or "noon" was reached would be roughly indicated by the position and shadow of the sun. The "night" is similarly divided by the Old Testament into three periods, or "watches", of which the second and third, the "middle watch" and the "morning watch", are named (Exod. 14:24; Judg. 7:19; 1 Sam. 11:11); and the expression "midnight" is also used, to indicate the middle point of the night and of the middle watch. No sub-division of the three periods of day or night into "hours" is traceable in the Old Testament, unless reference to the "ten degrees" on the dial of Ahaz (2 Kgs. 20:9-11; Isa. 38:8) implies it. Neh. 9:3, which divides the day into four, does not apparently reflect a normal practice.

The name of the first watch of the night is not given in Scripture, but it may be that, by way of correspondence with the "morning watch", it was called the "evening watch" (a sort of "second evening"). If so, this would explain the mysterious phrase "between the evenings" (Exod. 12:6; 16:12; 29:39, 41; 30:8; Lev. 23:5; Num. 9:3, 5, 11; 28:4, 8) which has caused so much uncertainty both in ancient and in modern times. A consideration of the passages cited shows that the hour in question was for Old Testament Law nightfall, since it was the time at which the lamps in the Tabernacle were to be lit, and also the time at which the Passover lamb was to be slain, which we know from Deut. 16:6 was sunset. It was likewise the hour at which the evening sacrifice and the incense were to be offered, and as such was a suitable time for prayer (1 Kgs. 18:36; Ezra 9:5ff; Ps. 141:2; Dan. 9:20f; Judith 9:1; Luke 1:10). Since it was a time between day and night, it

could with equal propriety be reckoned as the end of one or as the beginning of the other.[1] In Targum Neofiti on Gen. 49:27, alluding to Exod. 29:39, 41 and Num. 28:4, 8, the phrase is rightly interpreted as meaning "between the day and the night".

In intertestamental times, we find the division of the day and night each into three periods being maintained by the Book of Jubilees and by the related literature of the Dead Sea community (see Jub. 49:10-12; Shemaryahu Talmon, "The Manual of Benedictions of the Sect of the Judaean Desert", in *Revue de Qumran,* vol II, no 8, Nov. 1960). The threefold division is also reflected in the Book of Judith (12:5). It is not, however, mentioned in the New Testament, where we read only of midday and midnight, not of noonday and the middle watch, and find the Roman division of the night into four watches substituted for the Jewish division into three (Matt. 14:25; Mark 6:48; 13:35f.; Acts 12:4).[2] Since this fourfold division is found not only in narrative but in a discourse of Christ's, as also in Josephus (*Antiquities* 18:9:6, or 18:356), it is likely that it was in common use among the Jews in New Testament times. Another innovation, probably of Greek or Egyptian origin, which is found in the intertestamental literature, the New Testament, Philo and Josephus, is the subdivision of the day and night into hours.[3] In the New Testament, periods of three hours, two hours, one hour and half an hour are mentioned, and on a score of occasions the time at which an event took place is given by the number of the hour, some fifteen of which occurrences refer to different events on different occasions. Since the occurrences are as numerous as this, it is of interest to note that in no instance is the hour given a higher number than eleven, or is any statement made whether the hour specified is before or after noon. These facts must be taken in conjunction with the statement of John 11:9f. that there are twelve hours in the day (here distinguished from the night), with the clear inference in Matt. 20:3-12 and Acts 2:15 that the hours are numbered

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[1] By the time of Jesus, the slaying of the Passover had probably been moved to a time earlier in the afternoon, for Philo says that it took place between midday and evening (*De Specialibus Legibus* 2:145) or, more precisely, between the ninth hour and nightfall (*Quaestiones et Solutiones in Exodum* 1:11), and Josephus, still more precisely, that it took place between the ninth hour and the eleventh (*War* 6:9:3, or 6:423), i.e. between about 3.0 and 5.0 p.m. Similarly, the offering of the evening sacrifice had, according to the Mishnah, been advanced to a time between half past the eighth hour and half past the ninth hour (Pesahim 5:1), or, as Josephus has it, a time round about the ninth hour (*Antiquities* 14:4:3, or 14:65); and the New Testament tells us that in apostolic times the Jewish hour of evening prayer was the ninth hour (Acts 3:1; 10:30).

[2] The older division of the night into three watches seems, however, to be reflected in Luke 12:38, and the Western text of that verse interestingly calls the first of the three "the evening watch".

[3] For the intertestamental literature, see Letter of Aristeas 303; Testament of Joseph 8:1; 3 Macc. 5:14. For Philo and Josephus, see the passages cited in note 1, together with Josephus, *War* 6:1:7, or 6:68,79; *Antiquities* 6:14:6, or 6:364; *Life* 54, or 279f.

from daybreak to nightfall, and with the absence of contemporary extra-biblical evidence (Jewish or non-Jewish) which does anything other than confirm this mode of numbering the hours. Altogether, the evidence makes it highly precarious to attempt to reconcile John 19:14 with Mark 15:25 by postulating that in the Fourth Gospel the hours are numbered from midnight, either on a twenty-four hour clock, or on a twelve hour clock which begins again from noon. What makes this still more precarious is the evidence, at which we shall later look, that the Fourth Gospel begins its day not from midnight but from nightfall and daybreak—times which are perfectly normal for the books both of the Old and of the New Testament.

Of the method by which time was actually determined in the biblical period, we know a little. The division of time into hours was a late refinement, which can only have become general when the use of some sort of sundial or hourglass became general. Before this, the day was divided simply into three broad periods, and the night likewise, and these were doubtless determined simply by observing the heavenly bodies. Morning began with the beginning of the day, evening ended with the ending of the day, and noonday began and ended as the sun approached and declined from its zenith, being also marked as the period of intense heat. Since the moon and the stars "ruled" the night, just as the sun "ruled" the day (Gen. 1:16; Ps. 136:7-9), it seems more than likely that time was measured at night by the moon and stars. The fixed points most readily ascertained would be daybreak, nightfall and midday.[4]

2. The Day and its Limits

The problem when the "day", in the broader sense, began and ended, can only be answered by careful attention to the language of Scripture. Theoretically, it could have begun and ended at any ascertainable juncture—at daybreak, midday or nightfall, or even at the beginning or end of noontide, at the beginning or end of the middle watch, or at midnight. The actual evidence, however, converges on two of these times, daybreak and nightfall.

The evidence is of four kinds. In the first place, there are statements that the day, in the broad sense, begins or ends at a particular juncture—either at daybreak or at nightfall. In the second place, there is language reflecting the order in which "morning" and "evening" occur within the limits of the day. In the third place, there is language reflecting the order in which "day" and "night" occur within the same limits. In the fourth place, there are expressions like "today", "tomorrow", "yesterday", "the same day", "the

[4] On the question discussed in this paragraph, see E. W. Maunder, *The Astronomy of the Bible* (ed. 3, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1909), pp. 269-282.

next day", from which it can sometimes be seen whether the night belongs with the period of daylight preceding or with the period of daylight following.

(A) *EVIDENCE OF THE DAY BEGINNING AND ENDING AT NIGHTFALL*

In Exod. 12:18 we are told that the seven days of the festival of *Unleavened Bread* run from the evening of Nisan 14 to the evening of Nisan 21, thus beginning and ending in the evening. It follows that the one-day festival of the *Passover*, which falls on Nisan 14 (v.6), and thus immediately precedes the festival of Unleavened Bread, also ends in the evening. It does not end early in the evening, since it lasts until the time "between the evenings" when the Passover is slain (*ibid.*), and this expression, as we have seen, means sunset. On the other hand, it does not last after sunset, since after sunset comes night, the time for eating the Passover with unleavened bread (Exod. 12:8; Num. 9:11f; Deut. 16:3-7), which consequently falls within the festival of Unleavened Bread. From one point of view it seems strange that the sacrifice should be on Nisan 14 and the feast upon the sacrifice on Nisan 15, but the fact that the feast includes unleavened bread provides the explanation. The night which began Nisan 15 was in addition the time of the Exodus (Exod. 12:29-42), and this is specifically stated to have occurred "on the fifteenth day of the first month", on the "selfsame day" as (the first day of) the festival of Unleavened Bread, but on the "morrow after the Passover" (Exod. 12:17; Num. 33:3). See also Jubilees 49:1.[5]

Like the festival of Unleavened Bread, the *Day of Atonement* also runs from evening to evening (Lev. 23:32). Doubtless it begins and ends at the same hour as the festival of Unleavened Bread, i.e. at sunset.

Evidence that the *Sabbath* begins and ends at this hour does not begin so early, but it later becomes very abundant. The Old Testament seems to give a hint of it in Neh. 13:19, and the New Testament gives clear indications of it in the references to the time of Jesus's burial in Luke 23:54 and John 19:31, 42. Intertestamental evidence is supplied by 2 Macc. 8:25f. and Damascus Document, CD, 10: 14ff., and Jewish evidence from the first two centuries A.D. is to be found in Josephus (*War* 4:9:12, or 4:582; *Antiquities* 16:6:2, or 16:163; *Life* 32, or 159-161) and in the tractate Shabbath of the Mishnah.

It can also be inferred that the *New Moon* begins and ends at sunset. This would be natural because the sickle of the crescent moon, when it makes its

[5] In the New Testament, Nisan 14 and not Nisan 15 is reckoned the first day of unleavened bread (Matt. 26:17; Mark 14:12; Luke 22:7), but this doubtless reflects the later custom, recorded in the Mishnah, of preparing beforehand for the feast of Unleavened Bread by removing all leaven from the house on the fourteenth (Pesahim 1:1-5; 3:6; 5:4). On the evidence of Jubilees, see also J. M. Baumgarten, *Studies in Qumran Law* (Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity 24, Leiden: Brill, 1977), pp. 124-130.

first appearance, always does so in the evening, shortly after sunset. The inference is confirmed by the Mishnah (Rosh ha-Shanah 3:1).

It has sometimes been held that only on special occasions like the festival of Unleavened Bread or the Day of Atonement does the celebration run from evening to evening. We come on now, however, to evidence which does not concern special occasions, but which nevertheless reflects the same conception of the beginning and end of the day.

Two of these pieces of evidence concern the order in which morning and evening are mentioned. They are passages where *"evening" is mentioned before "morning"*. Normally the Bible mentions morning before evening, this being the order in which they come in the waking and working day, and nothing therefore can be deduced from this order as to whether the "day" (in the broader sense) begins from daybreak or from nightfall. When, for example, in the law of the continual burnt offering the morning sacrifice is mentioned before the evening sacrifice (Exod. 29:39-41), this is simply to be expected. Likewise, in the Mishnah, when the three hours of daily prayer are given in the order morning, noonday, evening (Berakoth 4:1), this is entirely natural. What is surprising is that Dan. 8:14, 26 tells us that the period for which the continual burnt offering is to be interrupted will extend to 2,300 "evening-mornings", and that the psalmist in Ps. 55:16f. says that he will offer his daily prayers "evening and morning and at noonday". The order here is not natural, and seems to imply something about the hour at which the day begins, i.e. at the hour of the evening sacrifice and evening prayer, in other words at sunset. Of course, the order in which evening and morning (or, for that matter, night and day) are mentioned will not inevitably have this significance, as the context may supply a clear reason why one may have been mentioned first, e.g. because for present purposes it is more significant (cp. 3 Macc. 5:11), because it was already under discussion (cp. Job 24:13f.), because a period between two limits is being marked out (cp. Num. 9:21), because the first of certain events in question occurred at the one time rather than at the other (cp. Exod. 16:6-8, 12-15), or because both really belong to a sequence which began earlier (cp. Gen. 1:3-5). But where none of these conditions is present, it is a fair inference that the order "evening, morning", "night, day", implies something about the hour at which the "day", in the broader sense, begins: and the same is true of "day, night", which is arguably not, like "morning, evening", a more natural order than the reverse, for night is not only the time of rest after the toil of the day that is past, but also the time of refreshment for the toil of the day ahead.

Passages in which *"night" is mentioned before "day"*, though there is no clear reason present why either order should be preferred, are much less common in the Old Testament and intertestamental literature than passages in which "day" is mentioned before "night". The former kind does, however,

occur: see Deut. 1:33; 28:66; 1 Sam. 25:16; 1 Kgs. 8:29; Esth. 4:16; Ps. 91:5f.; Isa. 27:3; 34:10; Jer. 14:17; Song of the Three Holy Children 47. In the New Testament, on the other hand, passages of this kind are both more numerous and more widely distributed than passages of the other: see Mark 4:27; 5:5; Luke 2:37; Acts 20:31; 26:7; 2 Cor. 11:25; 1 Thess. 2:9; 3:10; 2 Thess. 3:8; 1 Tim. 5:5; 2 Tim 1:3. There is also a passage of the kind in Josephus (*Antiquities* 16:8:5, or 16:260). Such passages are suggestive of a reckoning whereby the day begins and ends at nightfall.

The same reckoning is probably implied in the many passages of the Mosaic Law where a single day's *ceremonial uncleanness* ends at evening (Lev. 11 *passim*; 14:46; 15 *passim*; 17:15; 22:6; Num. 19 *passim*), i.e. at sunset (Deut. 23:11). The purpose of setting this end to the period of uncleanness can hardly be a reluctance to exclude anyone from the camp overnight, since in some cases uncleanness is extended to seven days or even longer, and it is noteworthy that in such cases also uncleanness ends at evening (Num. 19:19), which is therefore the end of the day.

One final passage may be mentioned, which like two of those cited in connection with the festival of Unleavened Bread uses the language of *"the same day", "the next day" etc.* This is 1 Sam 11:9-11, where the morning watch (i.e. the third part of the night) and the morning, up to the time the sun is hot, are both included in the "morrow", which therefore begins not at daybreak but at the previous nightfall.

(B) *Evidence of the Day Beginning and Ending at Daybreak*

The evidence of a second and different reckoning is not so full and distinct as that which we have been considering hitherto, but it cannot be ignored. With the exception of one passage, it consists wholly of statements in which the "day" precedes the "night", or in which "the same day", "the next day" and similar phrases are used in such a way as to include the night with the period of daylight preceding, not with that following.

Passages in which *"day" is mentioned before "night"*, though there is no clear reason present why either order should be preferred, are numerous in the Old Testament and the intertestamental literature: see Gen. 1:14, 16, 18; 8:22; 31:40; Num. 14:14; 2 Sam. 21:10; 1 Kgs. 8:59; 1 Chron. 9:33; Neh. 1:6; 4:9; 9:12, 19; Pss. 22:2; 42:3, 8; 55:10; 74:16; 78:14; 88:1; 136:7-9; Isa. 28:19; 38:12f.; 60:11; 62:6; Jer. 9:1; 16:13; 31:35; 33:20, 25; 36:30; Lam. 2:18; Tobit 10:7; Judith 11:17; Wisdom 10:17; Baruch 2:25; 2 Macc. 13:10. For the Qumran literature, see Community Rule, 1Q S, 10:1f. In the New Testament, however, such references are confined to the book of Revelation and the writings of St. Luke: Luke 18:7; Acts 9:24; Rev. 4:8; 7:15; 8:12; 12:10; 14:11; 20:10.

Passages in which significant use is made of *expressions like "the same day", "the next day"* are Gen. 19:34; Lev. 7:15; 22:30; Judg. 19:9; 1 Sam. 19:11; 28:8, 19; Judith 6:21-7:1; John 6:22; Acts 4:3; 20:7-11; 23:32. In each of these places, it will be observed, the night is reckoned with the previous day, and in some of them it is the complete night that is so reckoned, not simply the period up to midnight. This applies to 1 Sam. 19:11, where "tonight" refers to the whole of the night, at any point in which David can make his escape, whereas "tomorrow" is equated with "in the morning"; to Judith 6:21-7:1, where it is explicitly stated that the Jews prayed for deliverance "all that night" before their enemies advanced "the next day"; to Acts 4:3, where the imprisonment of Peter and John "unto the morrow" clearly means imprisonment for the night; to Acts 23:32, where the march to Antipatris before "the morrow" (a march of about thirty miles, begun at the third hour of the night) must have taken almost until daybreak; and perhaps to John 6:22, where, since evening and before "the morrow", the disciples had rowed three or four miles against a contrary wind, which very likely implies that Jesus did not come to them till a time like that given by St. Mark, i.e. the fourth watch of the night (Mark 6:48). It has sometimes been supposed that the Acts of the Apostles reflects the Roman legal reckoning, whereby the day began and ended at midnight (though it does not appear that the Romans numbered the hours from midnight); but in view of Acts 4:3 and Acts 23:32 it seems fairly certain that what is actually reflected is a Jewish reckoning, whereby the day began and ended at daybreak.

There is a passage of the same kind in the writings of Josephus, and one of particular interest because it concerns *the Passover and the festival of Unleavened Bread.* It is hardly conceivable that Josephus was ignorant of the fact that, according to the Pentateuch, the dividing line between the Passover and the feast of Unleavened Bread, and between the seven days of the latter, falls in the evening. Josephus is very clear that the Sabbath begins and ends in the evening, and, if the tractate Pesahim in the Mishnah is anything to judge by, Pharisaic tradition (which Josephus, as a self-confessed Pharisee, would have accepted) was equally clear that the same is true of the Passover. Yet when Josephus comes to record the law that the flesh of the Passover lamb is to be wholly consumed during the night, and none of it left till the morning (Exod. 12:8-10; 34:25; Deut. 16:4), the way he puts it is that none is left "till the next day" (*Antiquities* 3:10:5, or 3:248). This shows that Josephus is equally happy with a second way of reckoning the days of these festivals, according to which they begin and end at daybreak.[6]

[6] Since the tradition of the Mishnah requires the Passover meal to be finished by midnight (Pesahim 10:9; Zebahim 5:8), it is just conceivable that Josephus is thinking of midnight as the hour at which the new day begins, but this is very unlikely, since the Mishnah itself explains that the rule is only a precautionary measure, and that "the same day" in such cases ends at

All the foregoing evidence for a second mode of reckoning is of an implicit rather than an explicit kind, but there is one passage in the New Testament which may be an explicit endorsement of it, Matt. 28:1. According to one interpretation, the verse states that the women came to the Lord's empty tomb "late on the Sabbath day, as it began to dawn towards the first day of the week". If this is right (and ὀψέ with the genitive certainly can mean "late on..."), what Josephus says implicitly of the Passover is here said explicitly of the Sabbath, that it ends at daybreak. The verb "to dawn" (ἐπιφώσκω) cannot here be used of the first day figuratively, i.e. "to draw on", as it is of the Sabbath in Luke 23:54. This is not so much because the other Gospels are emphatic that the women came to the empty tomb at daybreak, not just before nightfall, but because St. Matthew himself is emphatic that the tomb was not empty until the third day (Matt. 12:40; 16:21; 17:23; 20:19; 27:63f.), which would not even have begun until nightfall on the Saturday (see 27:62). St. Matthew is therefore stating, according to this interpretation, that the Sabbath ends at daybreak, but is also implying that by another reckoning, which he likewise accepts, the Sabbath has ended at nightfall, making the night the beginning of the third day.

It is not certain, however, that this is what St. Matthew means, for it is equally possible to translate his words "*after* the Sabbath day, as it began to dawn *on* the first day of the week".

(C) *Evidence of the Co-Existence of the Two Reckonings*

The cases of Josephus and, it may be, St. Matthew show that the two reckonings were not in rivalry with each other, but could co-exist harmoniously within the mind of a single writer. If one looks back over the evidence which we have been examining, it will at once become clear that St. Matthew and Josephus are not alone in this. Both reckonings are found in the Pentateuch, the books of Samuel, the books of Kings, Nehemiah, the Psalter, Isaiah, Jeremiah, 2 Maccabees, the Dead Sea literature, the writings of St. Luke and the Gospel of St. John. This may at first sight seem a very surprising conclusion.[7] However, a little consideration reduces one's

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daybreak (Berakoth 1:1). With Josephus's reckoning of Passover, compare the reckoning of Pentecost by the Therapeutae, who continued their celebration of the festival throughout the following night until daybreak (see Philo, *De Vita Contemplativa* 83-89).

[7] Indeed, it is often assumed that it would be impossible for the two reckonings to co-exist. Thus, J. T. Milik and others suppose that the Qumran community always reckoned the day from daybreak (despite the evidence of Jubilees 32:30; 49:1; Damascus Document, CD, 10:14ff. to the contrary), and that this was one of their peculiarities. See Milik's *Ten Years of Discovery* (E. T. London: SCM, 1963), p. 152, and, for the evidence to the contrary, J. M. Baumgarten, "4Q 503 (Daily Prayers) and the Lunar Calendar", in *Revue de Qumran*, vol. XII, no. 47 (December 1986), and his earlier writings there cited. Again, Julian Morgenstern tries to explain the apparent discrepancy between the Synoptists and John about the day on which the Passover fell, by postulating a difference of view as to whether the day began at daybreak or

astonishment. For, in the first place, there is no clear reason why, in the uninterrupted succession of days and nights, the order "day, night" should be preferred, or *vice versa*. Night, as was remarked earlier, provides both rest after toil and refreshment for toil. In the second place, since the greater part of the night is consumed in sleep, for most practical purposes it makes little difference whether the night is reckoned with the period of daylight preceding or with that following. It is true that acts of manual labour or worship during the hours of darkness are possible, and that on special occasions the former may be prohibited and the latter prescribed. Consequently, when a day and night or a definite number of days and nights are being set apart from manual labour for religious purposes, it is necessary to decide which nights are being set apart in this way as well as which days. This was especially true of the Passover, when the main celebration took place by night, but even in this case the special circumstances made it as natural for Josephus to think of the new day as beginning after the night was over as before it began, since he cannot have failed to see that the lamb connected the night as intimately with the day preceding as the unleavened bread did with the day following. The night was a less significant part of the Sabbath celebration, and though, at the time of the Passion, the night to which the sabbatical prohibition of labour actually applied was the night after Christ died, i.e. the night before the Sabbath, the fact that the normal duties of the working week did not recommence until after the night following the Sabbath must have made this also, in the minds of contemporary Jews, an effective part of the Sabbath rest. It was not therefore difficult—indeed it was natural—for St. Matthew to think of the Sabbath as ending both before the second night and after it. But what applies to the Sabbath applies *a fortiori* to the ordinary days of the week, for in these cases there was no prohibition of labour, and any acts of worship which pious individuals might perform in the hours of darkness could equally well be regarded as preceding or following those performed in the hours of daylight.

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sunset (despite the evidence above that Luke, John and possibly Matthew employ both reckonings). See Morgenstern's *Some Significant Antecedents of Christianity* (Studia Post-Biblica 10, Leiden: Brill, 1966), ch. 2.

CHAPTER TWO

THE SABBATH AND SUNDAY

At the end of the account of the creation of the world with which the Book of Genesis begins, we read:

> On the seventh day God finished his work which he had made (or done); and he rested (שבת) on the seventh day from all his work which he had made (Gen. 2:2).

The story of the Old Testament Sabbath therefore begins with the Sabbath or repose of God after his work of creation. The following verse goes on to say:

> And God blessed the seventh day and sanctified it, because in it he rested(שבת) from all his work which God had created and made.

THE QUESTION OF A PRIMEVAL SABBATH

In what way God "blessed" or "sanctified" the seventh day, we are not told, and the form of expression is uncommon in the Old Testament as a whole. In Old Testament usage (as in New Testament usage) it is normally people that are "blessed", and often people that are "sanctified", rather than things. However, on those occasions when God "blesses" a thing, he does good to it and good to people through it (Gen. 27:27; Exod. 23:25; Deut. 7:13; 28:5, 12; 33:11, 13; Job 1:10; Ps. 132:15; Prov. 20:21). Hence, for God to bless the seventh day seems to imply that he makes that day a blessing to mankind.[1] Again, when God "sanctifies" a thing, he sets it apart as holy, to be treated as such by his creatures (Exod. 29:43f; 1 Kgs. 9:3, 7; 2 Chron. 7:16, 20; 30:8; 36:14). He is not elsewhere said to "sanctify" a *day*, but the meaning is presumably the same as when he sanctifies anything else, namely, that he sets it apart to be observed as holy.[2]

However, it is not until the fourth commandment of the Decalogue, as recorded in Exod. 20:8-11, that the implication of Gen. 2:2f becomes

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[1] One may compare the birthday that is "cursed" and "not blessed" in Jer. 20:14 and Job 3:1-9: it becomes a day of darkness and sorrow, instead of a day of light and joy.

[2] Similarly, when it is men who "sanctify" a day, or a year, they set it apart as holy, or (if already set apart by God) treat it as holy (Lev. 25:10; Neh. 13:22; Jer. 17:22, 24, 27; Ezek. 20:20; 44:24; Joel 1:14; 2:15).

explicit. There, reference is apparently made to the earlier passage,[3] and the same words "blessed" and "sanctified", ברך and קדש, are used:

> Remember the Sabbath day to sanctify it. Six days shalt thou labour and do all thy work, but the seventh day is a Sabbath unto the Lord thy God: in it thou shalt not do any work, thou nor thy son nor thy daughter, thy manservant nor thy maidservant, nor thy cattle, nor thy stranger who is within thy gates: for in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that is in them, and rested the seventh day: wherefore the Lord blessed the Sabbath day and sanctified it.

The seventh day, then, was "blessed" and "sanctified" to be a day of rest: indeed, by a significant variation of language we are told that it was not the seventh day but the "Sabbath" day (שבת, day of rest) which God blessed and sanctified at the creation. So what Gen. 2:2f implies, when read in the light of this commentary supplied by Exodus, is that at the creation God decreed that man should imitate his Maker by "doing work" for six days and "resting" on the seventh. Since man had been "made in the image of God" (Gen. 1:26f), imitation of his Maker was no inappropriate vocation. Man's original work was to rule the animal creation and tend the vegetable creation (Gen. 1:26, 28; 2:15). And after his work, there was to follow rest. Rest was the purpose for which the day had been "sanctified", and rest was the "blessing" which the day was to bring.

Yet, even assuming that God's decree was known from the beginning, there is little reason to think that humanity quickly realised its implications. If the seven-day week and the Sabbath concluding it had been an institution clearly recognised from the time of mankind's creation, one could expect to find traces of the fact among other ancient nations. Yet those who have looked for such traces have failed to find them. Some Babylonian texts divide the month into periods of seven and eight days, but these follow the phases of the moon, not a continuous sequence of seven-day weeks. There is also an Akkadian word *shapattu*, but it means the full moon and not a weekly Sabbath.[4] Even among the godly patriarchs, the evidence for Sabbath-keeping is hardly more convincing. The first explicit reference is in Exodus 16, when Israel receives the manna. All that we have before this is references to periods of seven days or eight days (Gen. 7:4, 10; 8:10, 12;

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[3] In the literary criticism of the Pentateuch, Gen. 2:2f is often assigned to a later document than Exod. 20:8-11. The important point, however, is that the two passages were designed to correspond, and that if we are dealing with revelation, not speculation, the order of composition is a secondary issue.

[4] See Roland de Vaux, *Ancient Israel: its Life and Institutions* (ET, London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1968), pp 186-88, 475-480. De Vaux is clear, however, that the Sabbath is very ancient, possibly pre-Mosaic, being found in all strands of the Pentateuch and both forms of the Decalogue. The great antiquity of the Sabbath is also recognised in H. H. Rowley, *Worship in Ancient Israel* (London: SPCK, 1967), pp 45f, 91f, and N. A. Andreasen, *The Old Testament Sabbath* (SBL Dissertation Series 7, Missoula: SBL, 1972), p. 8.

17:12; 21:4; 31:23; 50:10; Exod. 7:25; 12:15f, 19; 13:6f), three being the only other number of days which occurs with comparable frequency; and in view of the one technical reference to a week, in Gen. 29:27f, it is possible that these also should be taken as references to a week, the days sometimes being counted exclusively, sometimes inclusively. On the other hand, it is possible that the seven days and the eight days should both be counted exclusively, and that we are once again dealing with the phases of the moon. There is no indication of a continuous sequence of seven-day weeks, and on the rare occasions when two such periods occur together (Gen. 8:10, 12; 29:27-30) it is to meet exceptional circumstances.

However, when one does at length reach an explicit reference to the Sabbath, in Exodus 16, it does not look like the first institution of the festival. The rule about the seventh day is there incidental to the directions about gathering the manna, and seems more like conformity to a pre-existing observance. The fourth commandment in Exodus 20 could more easily be the institution of the Sabbath, but in the chronology of Exodus the events of Exodus 16 are undoubtedly earlier. And even if Exodus 20 is taken by itself, one must not ignore the fact that it represents the Sabbath as a memorial of Creation. Can it then be instituting the festival? It would surely be odd to be instituting a memorial of Creation as late as the Exodus. It seems better therefore to see Exodus 16 and 20 not as imposing a new ordinance but as reiterating a much older one (that of Genesis 2, to which Exodus 20, as we have seen, refers), in a manner comparable to the reiteration of the institution of circumcision in Exodus 4 and Leviticus 12, long after its first institution in Genesis 17. The difference in this case is that the original institution is not very explicitly worded, and seems to have come to be understood only gradually. Possibly, some of the patriarchs practised the Sabbath rest, but we do not know that they did. Certainly, it can hardly have been practised during the Egyptian bondage. So, at the time of Exodus 16, the Sabbath rest was at least something *relatively* new, which would account for the absence of the article before "Sabbath" until v. 29, and for the mild treatment of Sabbath-breaking in vv 25-30, as contrasted with Exod. 31:14f; Num. 15:32-36.

What the fourth commandment does is to make it explicit that the Sabbath rest is indeed a creation ordinance, though this had not before been so clearly revealed or recognised. In practice, however, because of the circumstances in which the Decalogue was given, the commandment made the Sabbath rest an ordinance for Israel, and it even came to be thought of as an ordinance for Israel only, until Hellenistic Jews and early Christians started to emphasise the fact that, theoretically at least, it had a wider application. Thus, it was a creation ordinance designed for all mankind, but,

because it was only the Decalogue which had made this explicit, Israel had hitherto been the only nation to observe it.

THE PRIMEVAL SABBATH IN HELLENISTIC JUDAISM

The traditions of interpretation of the Old Testament which developed among the Jews in the intertestamental period, and are represented in surviving literature, can be broadly distinguished, according to language and origin, as Hellenistic or Alexandrian, and Semitic or Palestinian. The latter tradition can then be subdivided into the Pharisaic, Sadducean and Essene streams. In some respects, the last three schools of thought seem to have had a lot more in common with each other than with Hellenistic Judaism, but it is easy to exaggerate the extent to which the Hellenistic tradition diverged. Hellenistic literature was regarded with suspicion by many Pharisees; it sometimes showed great sympathy towards Greek philosophy; and some of its most distinguished representatives were ignorant of the Semitic languages. Yet this is only half the picture. Palestinian literature was eagerly translated into Greek at Alexandria by Jews who did understand Hebrew and Aramaic, and the Greek translations often found their way back into Palestine (where Greek was widely spoken), accompanied, no doubt, by original literature in the Greek language. In this Greek literature, the opinions of the Palestinian schools are frequently reflected; and conversely, the rabbinical literature sometimes reflects ideas which seem to have originated at Alexandria, as does the New Testament also. On the matter of the Sabbath, it is characteristic of Hellenistic literature to view it as a creation ordinance, common to all mankind, and it is characteristic of Semitic literature (though with some qualifications) to view it as an ordinance peculiar to Israel. The New Testament treatment of the matter seems to owe quite as much to the Hellenistic tradition as to the Semitic.

One of the earliest Hellenistic theologians of whom anything is extant is the philosophically-minded Alexandrian writer Aristobulus, Philo's great predecessor, who in the second century B.C. produced an exposition of the Old Testament Law, fragments of which are preserved by Clement of Alexandria and Eusebius[5]. One of these fragments is concerned with the Sabbath. Aristobulus writes:

> With this it is closely connected, that God the creator of the whole world has also given us the seventh day as a rest, because for all men (πᾶσι) life is full of troubles: which day indeed might naturally be called the first birth of light, whereby all things are beheld. The same thought might also be metaphorically

[5] Gratuitous doubt was thrown on the genuineness of these fragments in the nineteenth century. For a thorough modern vindication of them, see Nikolaus Walter, *Der Thoraausleger Aristobulos* (Texte und Untersuchungen 86, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1964). The fragment here quoted comes in Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 13:12.

> applied in the case of wisdom, for from it all light proceeds.... But more clearly and more beautifully one of our fore-fathers, Solomon, said that it (i.e. Wisdom) has existed before heaven and earth; which indeed agrees with what has been said above. But what is clearly stated by the Law, that God rested on the seventh day, means not, as some suppose, that God henceforth ceases to do anything, but it refers to the fact that, after he has brought the arrangement of his works to completion, he has arranged them thus for all time.... He has also plainly declared that the seventh day is ordained for us by the Law, to be a sign of that which is our seventh faculty, namely reason, whereby we have knowledge of things human and divine (Gifford's translation).

Though what Aristobulus says is not entirely explicit, he appears to be making three main points:

(i) God who created the world gave the Sabbath to all human beings (not just to Israel) as a rest from the troubles of life.

(ii) The Sabbath (as the memorial of Creation, or because God on the first Sabbath "saw everything that he had made")[6] may be called the birthday of light, by which all things are beheld. To light corresponds the metaphorical light of reason and wisdom; and (though the Sabbath is the seventh day, not the first day, on which light was created) it must be remembered that wisdom existed before the first day (and the day before the first day corresponds to the seventh day). This involved argument is apparently aimed to show that the Sabbath is the day for the exercise of reason and the pursuit of wisdom.

(iii) The fact that God rested on the seventh day does not mean that thereafter he ceased to do anything, but that his creative work was then complete for all time. (Thus, God's Sabbath rest continues for all time, during which he is constantly active, but not as creator.)

Philo's exposition of the Sabbath two centuries later is much fuller, the theme appearing at many places in his works, but he likewise dwells on these three points, in a manner strikingly similar even if not absolutely identical.

(i) He teaches that the Sabbath has existed from the creation, and for all people, not just for Israel. It is "the festival not of a single city or country but of the universe, and it alone strictly deserves to be called public, as belonging to all people" (*De Opificio Mundi* 89). God at the creation bade "those who should live as citizens under this world-order (πολιτείᾳ) to follow God in this as in other matters" (*De Decalogo* 98). The Sabbath has held the place of honour in nature "from the time when the world was framed", and what happened at the Exodus was not that it was first instituted but that Israel was taught to date it aright, after the true date had got lost through the upheavals of history (*De Vita Mosis* 1:207; 2:263).

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[6] In the biblical account, this is stated at the end of the sixth day (Gen. 1:31), but Philo, as we shall see, supposes it to have actually happened on the seventh day, and Aristobulus may have done the same.

(ii) The Sabbath has not only existed from Creation, but is the memorial of Creation, and Philo delights to call it "the birthday of the world" (*De Opificio Mundi* 89; *De Vita Mosis* 1:207; *De Specialibus Legibus* 2:59). It is also the day of light: "seven... may quite rightly be described as the light (φῶς) of six, for seven reveals as completed what six has produced" (*De Specialibus Legibus* 2:59). The Sabbath is consequently linked with "the seventh and truly divine light", "the seventh and perfect light", "that most brilliant and truly divine light", which is virtue (*Legum Allegoriae* 1:16-18). It also goes back, in a sense, before Creation: "that day has held the place of honour in nature, not merely from the time when the world was framed, but even before the heaven and all that sense perceives came into being" (*De Vita Mosis* 2:263). As the day of light, it is the day of contemplation and the pursuit of wisdom: "In the story of the creation...we are told that the world was made in six days and that on the seventh God ceased from his works and began to contemplate what had been so well created, and therefore he bade those who should live as citizens under this world-order to follow God in this as in other matters. So he commanded that they should apply themselves to work for six days but rest on the seventh and turn to the study of wisdom... Always follow God... Find, too, in the seventh day the pattern of thy duty to study wisdom, that day in which we are told that he surveyed what he had wrought... Let us not then neglect this great archetype" (*De Decalogo* 97-101, Colson's translation). The Sabbath is the day set apart for the pursuit of "philosophy" (*De Opificio Mundi* 128). "On this day we are commanded to abstain from all work, not because the Law inculcates slackness—on the contrary... when he forbids bodily labour on the seventh day, he permits the exercise of the higher activities, namely, those employed in the study of the principles of virtue's lore" (*De Specialibus Legibus* 2:60f, Colson's translation; cp. also section 64). And in this connection he relates how public teaching is given in the synagogues on the Sabbath (section 62f), a theme to which he returns in *De Vita Mosis* 2:215f, in *Hypothetica* 7:12f, where he speaks of the reading and exposition of the Law, in *De Legatione ad Gaium* 156f, where he speaks of instruction in the Jews' "ancestral philosophy", and in his accounts of the Therapeutae (*De Vita Contemplativa* 30-33) and of the Essenes (*Quod Omnis Probus Liber Sit* 80-82), where he again speaks of teaching and of the reading and exposition of Scripture.

(iii) Finally, Philo deals with God's perpetual Sabbath, in which he is not idle: "On the seventh day the Creator, having brought to an end the formation of mortal things, begins the shaping of others more divine. For God never leaves off making, but even as it is the property of fire to burn and of snow to chill, so it is the property of God to make" (*Legum Allegoriae* 1:5-7, Colson and Whitaker's translation; cp. also sections 16,

18). He says elsewhere that God alone truly and eternally rests, not because he is idle, but because he works with absolute ease (*De Cherubim* 87-90).

As will be seen later, slight traces of some of these ideas are to be found in Palestinian Judaism, but little more than that.

THE PRIMEVAL SABBATH IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

Creation ordinances, so it is commonly held, belong to the nature of things as God intended them from the beginning, and therefore have a permanent and universal validity. John Murray, in the chapter on "Creation Ordinances" in his book *Principles of Conduct*,[7] distinguishes four such ordinances for mankind in the creation narrative: marriage, parenthood, work and the Sabbath rest. Each of them is instituted before the Fall (marriage in Gen. 1:27; 2:18-24, parenthood in Gen. 1:28, work in Gen. 1:26, 28; 2:15, and the Sabbath rest in Gen. 2:3), and three of them are specifically endorsed, and attendant penalties imposed, when the Fall takes place (for marriage and parenthood, see Gen. 3:16; and for work, Gen. 3:17-19).

That this is not just a speculation of theologians but is based on the New Testament, seems clear from Jesus's teaching on marriage in Matt. 19:3-9. "Moses", he says, "for the hardness of your hearts permitted you to put away your wives, but from the beginning it was not so". Thus, the intended lifelong character of marriage appears from the form in which it was instituted at Creation, which is permanent and is not superseded by the permission for divorce later given in the Law of Moses.[8]

A second saying of Jesus's, though less explicit, has often been held to treat the Sabbath also as a creation ordinance. In Mark 2:27 he states that "the Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath". A striking parallel to this saying occurs in one of the earliest Palestinian midrashim, Mekilta, where Rabbi Simeon ben Menasya interprets Exod. 31:14 as meaning "the Sabbath is given over to you, but you are not given over to the Sabbath" (tractate Shabbata 1).[9] There is, however, one significant

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[7] London: Tyndale Press, 1957.

[8] The Mosaic Law, so Paul teaches in Gal. 3, was in one sense a parenthesis between the age of the patriarchs and the age of the gospel. Yet even those features of revelation which are older than the Mosaic Law and belong to the age of the patriarchs have sometimes been fulfilled, and in the literal sense abolished, under the gospel: circumcision and ritual sacrifice (both prominent in the Book of Genesis) are cases in point. The mark of a "creation ordinance" is not that it antedates the Law but that it begins with man's very creation.

[9] Willy Rordorf, being conscious that Simeon is not attacking the Sabbath, as he thinks Jesus would do, takes the bold and unusual step of denying any parallel with the saying of Jesus (*Sunday*, ET, London: SCM, 1968, p. 62f). His grounds are that Simeon applies his saying not to the satisfying of hunger but to the saving of life, and that he did not live till the end of the second century A.D. But the satisfying of hunger and the saving of life are in principle the same thing, and the saying probably did not originate with Simeon, since a

difference. In the teaching of Mekilta, and in the Palestinian tradition generally, the Sabbath is an ordinance peculiar to Israel, and "you" in Simeon's dictum means Israel. Jesus, however, does not say that the Sabbath was *given* to *Israel,* but that it was *made* for *man*, the word "made" (γίνομαι) suggesting a connection with the "making" of the world, and the word "man" (ὁ ἄνθρωπος) suggesting humanity as a whole. What Jesus's choice of words seems to imply, therefore, is that when God made the world, he also made the Sabbath, and that he made it not just for Israel but for mankind. If so, he endorses the natural interpretation of Gen. 2:3, in the manner of Aristobulus and Philo, and declares the Sabbath, like marriage, to be a creation ordinance of general and permanent validity.[10]

Another of Jesus's sayings, this time in the Fourth Gospel, is even more strikingly reminiscent of Aristobulus and Philo. Charged with healing on the Sabbath, he replies, "My Father worketh even until now (ἕως ἄρτι ἐργάζεται) and I work" (John 5:17). Though this could be interpreted as meaning that God works on Sabbaths as well as on weekdays, in accordance with the literalistic Palestinian idea of the relation of the days of the week to God, though contradicting the Palestinian notion that on the Sabbath day God refrains from work (see pp. 22-23), it is more straightforward to understand it in the Hellenistic manner, as meaning that God's Sabbath is permanent. Hellenistic, too, is the unhesitating assertion that on his Sabbath God continually *works.*[11] These traces of Hellenistic teaching are not surprising when one notes how active Hellenistic Jews were in Jerusalem itself at the time when the Christian church originated (Acts 6:1, 9; 9:29). Jesus was evidently ready to endorse Hellenistic teaching, where appropriate, no less than Palestinian.

The same theme of God's perpetual Sabbath since the creation is taken up and developed by that great Christian Hellenist, the writer to the Hebrews

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parallel saying about the Temple occurs in 2 Maccabees, a Hellenistic work written not later than the first century B.C. (see 2 Macc. 5:19).

[10] This interpretation of Mark 2:27 is early attested by the variant reading "created", κτίζω for γίνομαι, and by the corresponding Syriac rendering *bera*. The interpretation has been ably defended by Joachim Jeremias, in *New Testament Theology* (ET, London: SCM, 1971), vol. 1, p. 208f. The primeval origin and general application of the Sabbath is not, in context, the main point which Christ is concerned to make, but in the light of the difference between Palestinian and Hellenistic teaching his choice of words is probably deliberate. The contrast between this saying on the Sabbath and his saying in Mark 7:14-23 on distinctions of foods, when he "made all foods clean", is striking, and appears to refute the idea that for Christ the Sabbath was just one more ceremonial regulation, on a par with all others. There is a similar contrast with Mark 13:2, where he announces the approaching end of the Temple (and its sacrifices).

[11] This takes no account of Oscar Cullmann's interpretation of the verse, adopted by P K Jewett *(The Lord's Day,* Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1971, pp 84-87), according to which God's Sabbath follows his present "work" and has not yet begun. Such an explanation cannot be judged completely impossible, but it ignores the Old Testament and Jewish background of the saying, and the relation of the saying to first-century Christian thought.

(Heb. 3:7-4:11). The direction in which he develops the theme is eschatological: he is not concerned with God's activity during his Sabbath rest, but with our promised opportunity of sharing in that rest. Yet his eschatology is different from that of Palestinian Judaism, which simply saw the Sabbath as a type of the rest which the righteous will enjoy in the age to come (M Tamid 7.4; Mekilta: Shabbata 1); it is a Christian eschatology, based on the Hellenistic conception of God's perpetual Sabbath since the creation, and stressing that the rest promised is God's own rest (Heb. 4:3f, 10), and that those who enter into it are not unbelieving Jews of past generations but Christian believers of today (Heb. 3:12, 14, 19; 4:2f). Also, it is probably a partially realised eschatology, like the eschatology of Hebrews in general, teaching that a foretaste of the promised rest is already enjoyed in this life (Heb. 4:1, 3, 10).

Neither in John 5:17 nor in Hebrews 3-4 is anything explicit said about the observance of a literal Sabbath. But the inference sometimes drawn that the two passages exclude this is, to say the least, gratuitous. According to their teaching, God is already enjoying his Sabbath rest in heaven, and his promise is that those who believe and obey can share in it. Nothing is said about a literal Sabbath, one way or the other. At the same time, the background of the two passages, as we have seen, lies in a tradition of Jewish thought in which the observance of the literal Sabbath is basic—in which it is held that the God who began his perpetual Sabbath on the seventh day has also sanctified that day for man. In the passages from John and Hebrews, therefore, this complementary truth is not so much excluded as implied. And in Mark 2:27 it may even come to formal expression.

The Mosaic Sabbath

When the Sabbath commandment was re-enacted at the Exodus, it was as a memorial of Creation that Israel was bidden to observe the day, like mankind at the beginning (Exod. 20:11; 31:17). Yet, since its re-enactment was also its first *explicit* enactment, the restored institution seems to have been peculiar to Israel, and was relatively new even to them. At the Exodus, God can truly be said to have "made known unto them his holy Sabbath" (Neh. 9:13f). In Egypt, according to the Book of Joshua, Israel had even "served other gods" (Josh. 24:14), but now she was to serve the Lord, not least by keeping the Sabbath.

In the Mosaic Law, this new situation is recognised in three striking ways. First, the Sabbath is made a token or sign of the Sinaitic covenant between God and Israel. Just as the rainbow had been the "sign" (אות) of the covenant between God and Noah (Gen. 9:12f, 17), and circumcision the "sign" of the covenant between God and Abraham (Gen. 17:11), so also the Sabbath

becomes a "sign" of the covenant between God and Israel (Exod. 31:13, 17; cp. also Isa. 56:4, 6; Ezek. 20:12, 20). And just as circumcision is described in Gen. 17:9f, 13f as a "perpetual covenant" which Abraham and his descendants are to "keep", so the same language is used of the Sabbath in Exod. 31:16f.

Secondly, the keeping of the Sabbath is made one of the Ten Commandments. The incorporation of the Sabbath commandment in the Decalogue placed it at the very heart of the Mosaic Law. Though the commandment of love is set forth in Deut. 6:1-9 as an even briefer and more basic summary of the Law, the uniqueness of the Decalogue is also given outstanding emphasis. Only the Ten Commandments were spoken by God from heaven with an audible voice and written by his finger, and only these were placed in the ark of the covenant, set within the holy of holies at the centre of Israel's worship (Exod. 20:1, 19, 22; 25:16, 21; 31:18; 34:1; 40:20; Deut 5:4,22-26; 9:10; 10:1-5).

The third way in which the new situation is recognised is that the Sabbath is made not a memorial of Creation alone, as heretofore, but also a memorial of redemption from the bondage of Egypt. When the Ten Commandments are first recorded, in Exodus 20, the reason given for the Sabbath rest is that God rested after his work of creation. When, however, the Ten Commandments are repeated, in Deuteronomy 5, a different reason is given:

> In it thou shalt not do any work, thou nor thy son nor thy daughter nor thy manservant nor thy maidservant ... that thy manservant and thy maidservant may rest as well as thou. And thou shalt remember that thou wast a servant in the land of Egypt, and the Lord thy God brought thee out thence by a mighty hand and by a stretched out arm: therefore the Lord thy God commanded thee to keep the Sabbath day (Deut. 5: 14f).

The Sabbath was not the only sign of the Sinaitic covenant, nor the only memorial of the redemption from Egypt. Under the Mosaic Law, circumcision was retained, and new ceremonies (notably the ceremony of the great annual feast of the Passover and that of the great annual fast on the Day of Atonement) were instituted; and these three ceremonies were, equally with the Sabbath, essential signs of the covenant, inasmuch as the penalty of neglecting them was likewise death (Exod. 4:24-26; 12:15, 19; 31:14; Lev. 23:29f; Num. 9:13; 15:35f). Again, two of the new ceremonies, that belonging to the feast of the Passover, and also that belonging to the feast of Tabernacles, resembled the Sabbath in being memorials of the Exodus. But the Sabbath, if only because of its frequency and its incorporation in the Decalogue, was the most prominent of these signs and memorials.

Under the Mosaic covenant, the Sabbath rest becomes the subject of detailed stipulations. Not only is all work prohibited, but what constitutes work is stated with some precision. It is not simply "laborious work" that is

forbidden, as on many of the other holy days: on the Sabbath and the Day of Atonement "no manner of work" is to be done (Lev. 23; Num. 28-29). No exception from the command to rest on the Sabbath is made at the busy times of sowing and reaping (Exod. 34:21). The gathering of food or fuel and the lighting of fires are prohibited (Exod. 16:25-30; 35:3; Num. 15:32-36). Buying and selling, and the preparation and carrying of wares, are naturally prohibited, as being the trader's normal way of earning his living (Neh. 10:31; 13:15-22; Jer. 17:19-27; Amos 8:5); and Nehemiah makes no exception in the case of wares carried by animals or goods sold by foreigners, animals and foreigners being likewise covered by the Sabbath commandment (Exod. 20:10; Deut. 5:14). It was because of these detailed prohibitions that the ungodly often resented the Mosaic Sabbath,[12] but, rightly regarded, it was not a burden to Israel but a "gift" (Exod. 16:29) and a "delight" (Isa. 58:13f). The Jew who gave Psalm 92 the title "A Song for the Sabbath" certainly appreciated this fact. God had "blessed" the day at the beginning (Gen. 2:3), as the fourth commandment recalled, and the primary form of this blessing was rest.

The weekly change from toil provided by the Sabbath rest was a requirement of nature, and was not to be refused either to servants or to animals (Exod. 23:12; Deut. 5:14f). Yet at the same time it differed from *nightly* rest, in that it was not involuntary, a demand of the exhausted body and mind which could not be denied, but was deliberate, a submission to God's commandment. The day was not simply set apart from toil but was set apart to God. He had "sanctified" the day at the beginning, as well as "blessing" it (Gen. 2:3). It was "a Sabbath of solemn rest, holy to the Lord" (Exod. 31:15), "an holy day, a Sabbath of solemn rest to the Lord" (Exod. 35:2), "my holy day... the holy of the Lord" (Isa. 58:13), "thy holy Sabbath" (Neh. 9:14), "the Sabbath of the Lord" (Lev. 23:38). As Ezek. 20:12 reminds Israel, echoing Exod. 31:13, "I gave them my Sabbaths, to be a sign between me and them, that they might know that I am the Lord that sanctify them."

As a day set part to the Lord, the Sabbath was a particularly suitable day for worship. The joint command given both in Lev. 19:3 and in Lev. 26:2, "Ye shall keep my Sabbaths and reverence my sanctuary", recognises this, and Lev. 23:37f links "the Sabbaths of the Lord" with his feast days as occasions for the offering of sacrifice. The ordinary daily sacrifices continue on the Sabbath (Num. 28:10), as do the special daily sacrifices of festivals lasting for a week or more (Unleavened Bread, Lev. 23:8; Num. 28:16-25; Tabernacles, Lev. 23:36; Num. 29:12-38; and apparently the dedication of

[12] Not all the ungodly resented it. Some of them enjoyed religious festivals, as they might a secular holiday (Hos. 2:11). Presumably it depended on whether their primary aim was gain or amusement.

Solomon's Temple, 1 Kgs. 8:64f; 2 Chron. 7:7-9); but the Sabbath has its own additional sacrifices of burnt offerings and meal offerings (Num. 28:9f; Ezek. 46:4f), together with the shewbread, which is renewed every Sabbath day (Lev. 24:8; 1 Chron. 9:32). The ministers of the sanctuary are naturally needed for the offering of these sacrifices on the Sabbath as well as on weekdays, and in fact the courses of priests and Levites seem to have changed over on the Sabbath day (2 Chron. 23:4, 8).

There is reason to think that in Old Testament times sacrifice did not exhaust public Sabbath-day worship. Leviticus 23 gives a list of the "holy convocations", when Israel was bidden to come together for worship, headed by the Sabbath (vv 1-3). The other "holy convocations" are Passover, the first and last days of Unleavened Bread, the Sheaf, Pentecost, Trumpets, the Day of Atonement, and the first and last days of Tabernacles. But after the wilderness period it was increasingly difficult for the nation to come together at the sanctuary on all these occasions, and in fact the Law envisages this by simply requiring that all male Israelites should appear before God three times a year, at Passover, Pentecost, and Tabernacles (Exod. 23:17; 34:23f; Deut. 16:16), Passover alone being imposed under definite sanctions (Exod. 12:15, 19; Num. 9:13). Where, then, were the people to fulfil their "holy convocations" on the other occasions in the year, notably on the fifty-two Sabbaths? We are not told. Sometimes they seem to have assembled with a prophet and his disciples, as in 2 Kgs. 4:23. But the institution of the synagogue, which is lost in antiquity, may also go back to Old Testament times (Ps. 74:8) and supply another part of the answer. The synagogue was always probably a teaching centre rather than a place of sacrifice,[13] but its ministers may originally have been the priests and Levites living in the vicinity, since the duty of teaching the Law rested especially upon them (Lev. 10:11; Deut. 17:11; 24:8; 33:10; Neh. 8:7-9; Ezek. 7:26; 44:23; Hos. 4:6; Mic. 3:11; Hag. 2:11; Mal. 2:5-7), and the great forerunner of the lay "scribes", who later taught in the synagogues, was Ezra the priest (Ezra 7:1-6, 11f, 21; Neh. 8:9; 12:26). Their teaching could be given any day, but there was greater freedom to receive it on the Sabbath.

Thus, according to this developed understanding, the day which the Lord had "blessed" and "sanctified" in the beginning (Gen. 2:3) was sanctified to be a day of worship as well as rest, and conferred the blessing of teaching as well as rest.

Even the Sabbath rest itself was worship. Since it was a symbolic rest, modelled on the Lord's rest after his work of creating the world, and on Israel's rest after her entry into the promised land, it was a thankful

[13] Psalm 74 clearly envisages only one sanctuary, that at Jerusalem, alongside the many synagogues: see vv 2-7. The synagogues that it speaks of are consequently not high places used for sacrifice.

commemoration of Creation and of redemption from bondage, and was therefore worship.

Apart from acts of worship, the Old Testament occasionally records works of necessity also as being performed on the Sabbath. Warfare could not necessarily stand still on the Sabbath day, so the siege of Jericho, by God's command, goes on (Josh. 6:3-15). And the monarch could not be left unguarded on the Sabbath, so we find the royal guard changing on that day (2 Kgs. 11:5, 7, 9).

The Mosaic Sabbath in Palestinian Judaism

If Hellenistic Judaism regarded the Sabbath as a creation ordinance for all men, Palestinian Judaism by contrast regarded it as a Mosaic ordinance for Israel alone. This attitude also can be traced back to the second century B.C., when it is found in Jubilees 2:19-33; 50:1. The Book of Jubilees, a work apparently emanating from the same general school of thought to which the Essenes and the Qumran community belonged, and certainly much cherished by the latter, lays exclusive stress on the truth that the Sabbath was a covenant sign between God and Israel, declaring that "the Creator of all things ... did not sanctify all peoples and nations to keep Sabbath thereon, but Israel alone" (Jub. 2:19-21, 31). This is the more striking, in that Jubilees, rather perversely, carries the institution of various purely Mosaic holy days back into the patriarchal period. It is true that in the calendar of Jubilees the patriarchs are never represented as journeying or working on the Sabbath, but this is probably symptomatic more of the author's sense of propriety than of his views about the date when the festival originated.

Further striking differences from Aristobulus and Philo appear in this same book. Although, in Jubilees, the seventh day of Creation is not the institution of the Sabbath for mankind, it is the institution of the Sabbath for God himself and the higher angels, who likewise work for six days each week and rest on the seventh (Jub. 2:17f, 21, 30). Thus, God's Sabbath is not eternal, it is every seventh day; and on that Sabbath he does not work.

In rabbinical literature of the Pharisaic tradition, the same general outlook manifests itself. The idea of creation ordinances is fully accepted,[14] but the Sabbath is not regarded as one. A baraita (i.e. a tradition of similar antiquity with the Mishnah, though from a different source), which is recorded in the Babylonian Talmud, states:

[14] Thus, in the Palestinian Talmud, the Mosaic law against the mingling of diverse kinds is stated to be a creation ordinance: "Was this forbidden to Adam also? Yes, replied Rabbi Jose in the name of Rabbi Hiyya, for, as is universally agreed, that law exists by reason of the precepts imposed upon the world at all eras" (Jer. Kilaim 1:7)

> The Israelites were given ten precepts at Marah, seven of which had already been accepted by the children of Noah, and to these there were added at Marah (i.e. in Exod. 15) social laws, the Sabbath and the honouring of one's parents (Sanhedrin 56b).

Mekilta, when expounding the statements of Exod. 31 that the Sabbath is "a sign between me and you ... a perpetual covenant between me and the children of Israel", comments "but not between me and the nations of the world" (Shabbata 1). The midrash on Genesis, when explaining Genesis 2, makes the seventh day of Creation God's Sabbath but only the prototype of man's Sabbath (Bereshith Rabbah 11). If Adam observed the Sabbath on its first occurrence (in accordance with the saying in the Palestinian Talmud, "Man was created on the eve of the Sabbath in order that he might begin life by a religious practice", Jer. Sanhedrin 4:5), that was apparently the only time he did so. It is true that, like Jubilees, the midrash is unwilling to infer that the three great patriarchs did not keep the Sabbath: it states, in fact, that "Abraham knew even the laws of the erub of courtyards" (which were refinements of the Sabbath law) and that "Jacob kept the Sabbath", but in the latter case it adds, significantly, "before it was given" (Bereshith Rabbah 11:7; 64:4; 79:6). The midrashim also appear to agree with Jubilees in viewing God as resting for only a single day at Creation, but as resting on every other Sabbath thereafter; and they manifest some embarrassment at the idea of God working on such days. Speaking of the first Sabbath, Mekilta says:

> He ceased from the thought of work. Perhaps also from administering justice? It says "and rested". This tells that his administration of justice never stops (Shabbata 1).

The idea appears to be that God did continue administering justice on the seventh day, but that this was not really work. In the midrash on Genesis, compiled somewhat later, it is admitted that this was work, but the effort is made to show that what God did on the Sabbath, or does on subsequent Sabbaths, is work permitted by the rabbis on the Sabbath, like moving an object four cubits. A dialogue to this effect between a Roman and Rabbi Akiba is recorded. The Roman raises the objection:

> "If it is as you say that the Holy One, blessed be he, honours the Sabbath, then he should not stir up winds or cause the rain to fall on that day." "Woe to that man!" he (i.e. Akiba) exclaimed. "It is like one who carries objects four cubits" (Bereshith Rabbah 11:5, 10).

In a later midrash again, a similar controversy is recorded, and the similar answer is given that the work God does on Sabbath days is like a man carrying things within his own courtyard (Exodus Rabbah 30:9).

On the other hand, there is one interesting similarity between Palestinian and Hellenistic teaching. For the Palestinians also, the Sabbath was the day of light:

> "And God blessed the seventh day." Wherewith did he bless it? With light (Bereshith Rabbah 11:2).

But here again there is a difference. It is literal light that the midrash has in mind, not the metaphorical light of wisdom. The notion is that before the Fall the heavenly bodies had outstanding brilliance, which faded afterwards, but that it was maintained throughout the seventh day (although the Fall had already occurred) in honour of the Sabbath.

The Palestinian literature is noteworthy for its great emphasis on Sabbath rest, and for its elaborate directions as to what may or may not be done on the Sabbath. According to Jubilees, the following acts are forbidden, in addition to those formally forbidden in the Old Testament: preparing food, drawing water, carrying a burden in or out of the house, performing the marital act, setting out on a journey, or talking about doing so for purposes of trade, riding an animal, travelling by ship, striking, trapping or slaughtering anything, making war (Jub. 2:29f.; 50:8f., 12). The acts for which the day is intended are eating and drinking, blessing God and offering sacrifice (Jub. 2:31; 50:9-11). Most of the acts forbidden in Jubilees are also forbidden in the Qumran literature, where quite a number of other prohibitions are added (Damascus Document, CD, 10:14-11:18). The most significant is the prohibition of helping a beast in labour, or pulling its young out of any cistern or pit into which it may fall; the latter prohibition being more or less repeated in the case of human beings in the same predicament. A similar fanaticism is reflected in the Essene prohibition of relieving nature on the Sabbath, recorded by Josephus. Josephus tells us that the Essenes were stricter than any other Jews in the observance of the Sabbath rest (*War* 2:8:9, or 2:147).

The Pharisaic casuistry, as developed in the Mishnah and elsewhere in the rabbinical literature, is much more subtle than this. The Mishnah enumerates no less than thirty-nine categories of prohibited actions (Shabbath 7:2), and then goes on to discuss what actions fall within each and what are exempt. Because of its extreme elaboration and precision, the Pharisaic legislation may have been as burdensome in practice as the Essene, especially to those who were seeking to justify themselves by works. But it did recognise, as we shall see in the next section of the chapter, that there were certain duties which took precedence over the duty of the Sabbath rest. Much less to its credit were the evasions, such as the erub, by which it sought to mitigate the stringency of its own regulations, instead of admitting

that the stringency was often arbitrary. But to this matter too we must return in the following section.

Though the Palestinian literature has less to say about Sabbath day services than the Hellenistic, these seem to have contained the same elements throughout the Jewish world. We saw on p. 15 that Philo describes the Sabbath day services in the synagogue as consisting primarily of teaching, through the reading and exposition of Scripture. That prayer was also included is implicit in Philo's usual name for the synagogue, προσευχή, "place of prayer" (*In Flaccum* 41, 45, etc.; *De Legatione ad Gaium* 132, 138, etc.), a name which is applied to the synagogue in Egyptian inscriptions and papyri from the third century B.C. onwards.[15] The same name is found in the Palestinian writer Josephus (*Antiquities* 14:10:23, or 14:258; *Life* 54, 56 or 277, 280, 293), who adds that the Law is read in the Sabbath-day services (*Against Apion* 2:17, or 2:175; cp. also *Antiquities* 16:2:4, or 16:43), and quotes Agatharchides of Cnidos as stating that on the Sabbath the Jews cease working and pray in their sanctuaries till the evening (*Against Apion* 1:22, or 1:209). Further evidence from Palestine and elsewhere is supplied by the New Testament. In Luke 4:16-27 Isaiah is read and expounded in the synagogue on the Sabbath; in 2 Cor. 3:14f. the reading of the Law is spoken of as a regular occurrence; in Acts 15:21 the Law is said to be read in the synagogue each Sabbath in every city of the Roman world; and in Acts 13:15, 27 both the Law and the Prophets are read on the Sabbath in the synagogue at Antioch of Pisidia, after which Paul is invited to give an exhortation. There is also the synagogue inscription from before A.D. 70 discovered at the Ophel, Jerusalem, stating that the synagogue there had been built "for the reading of the Law and for the teaching of the commandments." The evidence of the rabbinical literature is to the same general effect.[16]

The Mosaic Sabbath in the Teaching and Practice of Jesus

In the starkest possible contrast to his Jewish contemporaries, so Willy Rordorf contends in his well-known book, Jesus Christ rejected the Sabbath and rescinded the fourth commandment. "The sabbath commandment was not merely pushed into the background by the healing activity of Jesus: it was simply annulled", he writes (*Sunday*, p. 70). This contention is one of

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[15] For the papyri references, see Liddell and Scott's *Lexicon*. Another word of similar meaning used by Philo is προσευκτήριον (*De Vita Mosis* 2:216).

[16] H. A. McKay, by the use of excessively narrow definitions and rules of evidence, denies that the synagogue was a place of worship (*Sabbath and Synagogue*, Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 122, Leiden: Brill 1994), but the above evidence is unaffected by these claims. For the synagogue inscription just cited, see E. L. Sukenik, *Ancient Synagogues in Palestine and Greece* (Schweich Lectures, London: British Academy, 1934), pp. 69ff.

the major arguments by which he attempts to establish a case for complete discontinuity between the Sabbath and the Lord's Day, and it occupies pp. 54-79 of his book. In prosecuting the argument, he finds it necessary to discount large areas of the relevant Gospel material as unhistorical, and this he does on very speculative grounds. Almost the only parts of the material that he is prepared to accept with confidence are the parts in which Jesus makes messianic claims, for it is on the basis of these claims alone that he is able to explain Jesus's supposed readiness simply to abolish fundamental provisions of the Mosaic Law. But these too are insecure grounds for his contention, since, even if Christ has the authority to reject the fourth commandment, it does not follow that he had the will. Reinterpret the Mosaic Law he certainly did. Reject some of the current interpretations of it he also did. Fulfil its requirements for atonement in such a way that they neither need be, nor can be, fulfilled again, this too he did. But the idea that he regarded it as part of his messianic mission completely to set aside the Law, or certain of its precepts, has first to be established by evidence before it can be accepted.

A less subjective treatment of the Gospel record leads one to very different conclusions. For,

(i) The statement by Christ in Matthew and Luke that it was not his purpose simply to destroy the Law, or any of its precepts, must be taken seriously into account (see Matt. 5:17-20; Luke 16:16-18). There is no comparably clear statement that can be adduced against this.

(ii) The controversies of Christ over the Sabbath all concern the Sabbath rest. An equally important part of Sabbath observance was the worship and teaching that took place in the Temple and synagogue on that day. Jesus only visited Jerusalem for the feasts, and consequently did not come much into contact with the Sabbath-day sacrifices there. But there are four distinct contexts in the Gospels which show him teaching in the synagogue on the Sabbath (Mark 1:21f.; 6:2; Luke 6:6; 13:10), and there is one passage which shows him taking an active part in the regular service by reading the prophetic lection and expounding it, the evangelist remarking in this connection that "he entered into the synagogue on the Sabbath day, *as his custom was*" (Luke 4:16-27). Any claim that Jesus rejected the Sabbath must come to terms with these facts.

(iii) If it is admitted, as it must be, that Jesus did not reject the Sabbath day assembly for worship and teaching in the synagogue, it follows that he did not reject the Sabbath rest either. For the Sabbath-day assembly presupposed the Sabbath rest. Philo tells us that the Sabbath-day assembly went on until the late afternoon:

> Some priest who is present or one of the elders reads the Holy Laws to them and expounds them point by point till about the late afternoon, μέχρι σχεδὸν δείλης ὀψίας (*Hypothetica* 7:13).

It seems from Josephus (*Life* 54, or 279) that in Palestine it was the custom to break off at noon for a meal, but even if the congregation did not reassemble afterwards, which there is no reason to think, an assembly lasting until noon would be impossible upon a working day. Elsewhere, as was seen on p. 25, Josephus quotes Agatharchides to the effect that on the Sabbath the Jews pray in their sanctuaries till the evening. And the rabbinical literature everywhere speaks of at least one service after midday, quite apart from expository lectures.

(iv) This immediately casts doubt on the claim that Jesus rejected the Sabbath rest absolutely. No doubt his opponents considered him to break the Sabbath (as the Pharisees consider him to in John 9:16, and the Sadducees as well, possibly, in John 5:18), since he differed from their interpretations of the Sabbath commandment. But they must also have regarded each other as breaking the Sabbath on various matters, since they differed from each other's interpretation. The Essenes' interpretation, as we saw on p. 24, was the strictest; the Pharisees' interpretation was also decidedly strict in its own way, though not in the same way; and the Sadducees' interpretation must have differed again, since they rejected Pharisaic tradition, and much of the Pharisaic Sabbath legislation depended more on their tradition than on anything clearly taught by the Old Testament: as the Mishnah puts it, "the rules about the Sabbath... are as mountains hanging by a hair, for Scripture is scanty and the rules many" (Hagigah 1:8). The Pharisees were, moreover, divided among themselves on the matter. Many of the disputes between the schools of Shammai and Hillel concerned the Sabbath (M. Shabbath 1:5-8; 3:1; 21:3; M. Hagigah 2:4; Tos. Shabbath 1:15-22; 3:3; 17:21), and it is likely that at least some of these went back to the founders of the two schools, and so to a time before that of Jesus. The question is not, therefore, whether the existing Jewish parties regarded Christ as breaking the Sabbath (i.e., their interpretation of it), in the same way as they regarded each other as doing: this goes without saying. The question is, whether he regarded himself as breaking the Sabbath (i.e., his own interpretation of it): and that has yet to be shown.

(v) It is here relevant to note that most of Christ's six disputes on the matter are with the Pharisees (Mark 2:24; 3:6; Luke 14:1, 3; John 9:13-16), and that it is only an inference that the Sadducees are involved at all. Now, among the Pharisees living at the time of Jesus, the strict school of Shammai was more influential than the more lenient school of Hillel, which only

gained the ascendancy after the policy supported by the Shammaites had led to the destruction of the Jewish state by the Romans.[17] It may well be with Shammaites, therefore, that the disputes about the Sabbath took place. Writing from the point of view that later prevailed, modern Jewish scholars sometimes find it hard to understand why there ever was controversy between the Pharisees and Jesus about the Sabbath.[18] And it may be that even in the time of his ministry the Hillelites were much more in sympathy with his attitude to the Sabbath than those Pharisees who disputed with him about it. If so, this would explain the noteworthy fact that no charge of Sabbath-breaking was made at Jesus's trial.

(vi) The character of the actions which Jesus performed or sanctioned on the Sabbath does not suggest that his intentions were as revolutionary as Rordorf contends. We saw on pp. 20-22 above that the Old Testament authorises acts of worship and acts of necessity on the Sabbath. In paragraph (ii) we listed Jesus's acts of worship: these were basically uncontroversial. Controversy was provoked by the acts of necessity which he sanctioned, when he defended his disciples for satisfying their hunger in the cornfields (Mark 2:23-28), and when he told a cripple he was healing to take up his bed (John 5:8-12); but acts of necessity were not a new category, and the only difference was that Jesus was consistent about them and his opponents were not.[19] All Jesus's other recorded actions on the Sabbath are healings (Mark 1:29-31; 3:1-6; Luke 13:10-17; 14:1-6; John 5:2-18; 9:1-41). These aroused intense opposition, but not apparently because healing on the Sabbath was totally prohibited. On the contrary, the Mishnah permits healing on the Sabbath if the life is in danger:

> Rabbi Mattithiah ben Heresh said, "If a man has a pain in his throat they may drop medicine into his mouth on the Sabbath, since there is doubt whether life is in danger; and whenever there is doubt whether life is in danger this overrides the Sabbath" (Yoma 8:6).

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[17] See G. F. Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era* (Cambridge Mass: Harvard University Press, 1927-30), vol. 1, p. 79: Solomon Zeitlin, "Les 'dix-huit mesures' " (in *Revue des Etudes Juives*, vol. 68, no. 135, July 1914), pp. 22-36.

[18] This is the case with E. G. Hirsch, in his article "Sabbath", in *The Jewish Encyclopedia*.

[19] The inconsistency in the case of the cripple is aggravated by the fact that the Mishnah permits a man to be carried out on his couch on the Sabbath (Shabbath 10:5). Yet when Jesus heals such a man, the man is forbidden to carry his couch back again! It should be mentioned here that one act of necessity apart from those that occur in the Old Testament had been clearly recognised by the Jews as permissible since the time of the Maccabees, namely, self-defence (1 Macc. 2:29-41; 9:43-47; Josephus, *Antiquities* 14:4:2f., or 14:63f., etc.) In the case of the satisfying of hunger, this can be regarded both as an act of necessity (when considered as the disciples' own act) and as an act of mercy (when considered as the act of Christ, who sanctioned it). In the latter respect, it is all of a piece with the saving of life, as the remainder of this paragraph shows, and as has already been remarked in note 9 on p. 16.

Here again, then, Jesus was not opening a new category of permitted actions. He was simply extending an existing category from cases where life was in danger to other cases also, so as to cover all acts of healing, and acts of mercy in general. As he pointed out, his hearers were accustomed to show mercy to animals on the Sabbath, so how much more ought they to do the same to human beings? (Matt. 12:11f.; Luke 13:15f.; 14:5). Consistency required that they should treat human beings in the same merciful manner.[20]

(vii) The ways in which Christ defends his actions on the Sabbath never suggest that he is rescinding the Sabbath, and often suggest the contrary. It is true, as Rordorf says, that he makes messianic claims in this connection (Matt. 12:6; Mark 2:28; John 5:17). But he never uses his claims as an independent argument—not even in John 5, since the debate on this miracle is continued in ch. 7—or to support an assertion that the Sabbath is now abolished and that all days are equal. Even though he could have done this, in the sense in which Paul did it later, he does not.

Much more frequently, however, his arguments are of other kinds. A second kind of argument is drawn from the practice of his hearers. On three occasions, as we saw in paragraph (vi), he defends his acts of mercy towards human beings from his hearers' acts of mercy towards animals. If they are not breaking the Sabbath by their acts, he asks, how can he be breaking the Sabbath by his? But the implication of this line of argument is that he, no less than his hearers, recognises the need to keep the Sabbath.

A third kind of argument is drawn from the Old Testament. He appeals to David's action in eating the shewbread (Mark 2:25f.), to the sacrificial worship by the priests which was appointed for the Sabbath (Matt. 12:5), to Hosea's words "I desire mercy and not sacrifice" (Matt. 12:7), and to the law that circumcision is to take place on the eighth day after birth, which is often a Sabbath (John 7:22f.). But to appeal to the Old Testament is to appeal to the authority on which the Sabbath itself rests. So in using this sort of argument Jesus again implies that the Sabbath is not abrogated but continues in force.

The fourth and last kind of argument is drawn from established rabbinical maxims. That acts of worship, such as the Sabbath sacrifices and circumcision, could lawfully be performed on the Sabbath, was not only taught by

[20] Rordorf's claim that Christ singled out the Sabbath as the day on which to do his healings,. in order to show that it had no authority for him (*op. cit.*, p. 65f.), is quite arbitrary. Even if the fact is true, the inference does not follow, since his purpose could as well be to show how he interpreted the Sabbath commandment, as to show that he repudiated it. At the same time, it is not certain that Christ singled out the Sabbath for healings. The reason why six of the healings recorded are on the Sabbath might simply be that they were remembered because of their novel and controversial character and the teaching to which they led. Many healings on weekdays are also recorded, not to mention exorcisms and raisings of the dead.

the Old Testament but was fully recognised in Jewish practice and in rabbinical exegesis. Both on the Sabbath sacrifices and on circumcision, the Mishnah is explicit (on the former, see Temurah 2:1; on the latter, Shabbath 18:3; 19:1f.; Nedarim 3:11). So is the early midrash Mekilta. In Shabbata 2 it bases arguments on the premise "The Temple service... sets aside the laws of the Sabbath"; similarly, in Bahodesh 7, it affirms that Exod. 31:14, prohibiting work, and Num. 28:9, prescribing the Sabbath sacrifices, "were both spoken at one utterence" (i.e. the former is the general rule and the latter the particular exception); while in Shabbata 1, it bases arguments on the premise "In performing the ceremony of circumcision... one is to disregard the Sabbath laws".[21] However, these are not the only two points of Sabbath law on which Jesus echoes rabbinical maxims. We noted on p. 16 above that in Mark 2:27 he echoes the adage 'The Sabbath is given over to you, but you are not given over to the Sabbath' (Mekilta, Shabbata 1). And finally, in Mark 3:4, where he asks "Is it lawful on the Sabbath day to do good or to do harm? *to save life or to kill?*" he is echoing the rabbinical principle "The duty of saving life supersedes the Sabbath laws", which forms a premise for argument in Mekilta, Shabbata 1 (cp. also the extract from the Mishnah on p. 28 above).

But all these rabbinical maxims are simply exceptions to the general rule that on the Sabbath one must rest. In quoting such maxims, Jesus implies that he agrees with the rabbis not only about the exceptions but also about the general rule, since otherwise he would have had no use for exceptions, but would simply have contradicted the rule itself. It is true that he calls for more consistency in the application of the exceptions, so that acts of worship, necessity and mercy are clearly acknowledged to be permissible. It is true that he criticises the failure to see that mercy is more important than scrupulous ceremonialism.[22] It is true that he backs up his teaching not only with the customary sorts of argument but with messianic claims. But his whole mode of treating the subject proclaims him to accept the Sabbath rest itself, and to be presenting an interpretation of it which, while significantly different from earlier interpretations at certain points, is in full agreement with them at others.

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[21] Jubilees and the Damascus Document also recognise somewhat grudgingly the need to make an exception in the case of the Sabbath sacrifices, but this school of thought was less likely to be in the forefront of Christ's mind than Pharisaism, with which he was in continual contact.

[22] This ceremonialism was to a considerable extent based upon a rigorous interpretation of Exod. 16:29 and Jer. 17:21f., divorced from their contexts of gathering the manna and trade. The rabbis pressed these texts to mean that no one must for any purpose leave his city or carry anything out of his house. Christ may well have rejected these interpretations altogether, as he would certainly have rejected the evasion of the erub by which the rabbis attempted to mitigate the rigour of their own exegesis.

To all this, the reply might be made that occasionally, as in Matt. 5:23f., Jesus speaks directly of the Christian way to observe the ceremonial Law (though it is so soon to pass away), and that his teaching on the Sabbath could be a similar case. If so, he would be accepting the Sabbath only for the time being, not permanently. There is, of course, a measure of truth in this reply, since no-one contends that the *ceremonial* regulations of the Jewish Sabbath (the Sabbath sacrifices, for instance) are a permanent part of Christian practice. But if Jesus regarded the Sabbath as *purely* ceremonial and *purely* temporary, it is remarkable that he gives so much attention to it in his teaching, and also that in all he teaches about it he never mentions its temporary character. This is even more remarkable when one remembers that he emphasises the temporary character of other parts of the Old Testament ceremonial—the laws of purity in Mark 7:14-23 and Luke 11:39-41, and the Temple (with its sacrifices) in Mark 13:2 and John 4:21. By contrast, as we have already seen, he seems in Mark 2:27 to speak of the Sabbath as one of the unchanging ordinances for all mankind.[23]

Was, then, the attitude of Jesus to the Sabbath much like that of his Jewish contemporaries? This would be hard to maintain. The emphasis of the Pharisees and Essenes was wholly on the Sabbath *rest*, thought of in terms of prohibitions—on what must not be done on that day. The emphasis of Jesus, by contrast, was on what may and indeed should be done. In this again, Jesus's attitude is closer to that of the Hellenists (see pp. 14-16). The Hellenists, of course, did not oppose the Sabbath rest, but no more did Jesus: on the contrary, it was the Sabbath rest from normal weekday duties that set people free for the higher activities which Jesus practised and emphasised—acts of worship and acts of mercy. And this was where his emphasis lay. The Sabbath was not to be a day of idleness: it was to be a day of *different* activity. What there was little time for on weekdays there was much time for on the Sabbath. One should therefore use this freedom to the glory of God and to the benefit of mankind. Even in the saying where Jesus stresses the perpetuity of the Sabbath (Mark 2:27) he goes on to stress the authority of the Son of Man to reform its observance. And this is the manner in which he wishes to reform it.

[23] A different conclusion might be drawn from the saying in Matt. 12:5f., where the Temple takes precedence over the Sabbath, yet even the Temple is being fulfilled and replaced. The inference is that the same is true of the Sabbath. But what is in view here is not, as in Mark 2:27, the Sabbath in its primeval form, but the Sabbath in its Mosaic form, with its appointed sacrifices and its rigid restrictions on work. It is the appointed sacrifices that take precedence over the rigid restrictions during the Mosaic period. This form of the Sabbath was indeed being fulfilled and replaced through the ministry of Christ.

THE MOSAIC SABBATH IN THE TEACHING OF PAUL

If Christ did not abolish the Sabbath, but rather reformed its observance, affirming as he did so that it "was made for man", what about Paul? The disciple is not above his Master, but there is an important sense in which the disciples completed the teaching of their Master, in a way which was not possible during his ministry, when his death and resurrection had not yet taken place, and the Spirit had not yet come (John 16:12-14). In the teaching of Paul, certain important developments have occurred which affect the Sabbath.

In the first place, the observance of all the commandments has finally and explicitly been taken out of the context of justification by works. Henceforth, one is only to "seek the righteousness of the Law by faith" (Rom. 9:32), as Israel ought always to have done.

Secondly, the Sabbath sacrifices and all the Old Testament sacrifices have been fulfilled and replaced by the atoning sacrifice of Christ (Rom. 8:3; 1 Cor. 5:7; Eph. 5:2) and the spiritual sacrifices of Christians (Rom. 12:1; 15:16f.; Phil. 2:17; 4:18; 2 Tim. 4:6).

Thirdly, the only sense in which the Law still remains binding on Christians is the sense in which they are required to obey it by the fundamental commandment of love (Rom. 13:8-10; Gal. 5:14).[24] Otherwise they are free (1 Cor. 8:9; 10:29; Gal. 2:4; 5:13). Paul permits Jewish Christians to continue observing ceremonial commandments of the Law such as food laws and festival laws, provided they do not try to force them upon Gentiles; indeed, he requires them to follow their conscience in the matter, and warns Gentile Christians against causing them to stumble; but, as for himself, he is clear that the obligation of these ceremonies has ceased (Rom. 14:1-15:13; 1 Cor. 8:1-11:1). When, therefore, Judaising teachers who have not even grasped the principle of justification by faith try to force Jewish distinctions of days upon Gentiles, Paul is greatly concerned (Gal. 4:9-11; Col. 2:16f.). In the latter passage he speaks explicitly of "a feast day or a new moon or a Sabbath day" (i.e., annual, monthly, or weekly Jewish festivals), and it is plain that in Paul's mind the obligation of all these has in an important sense come to an end, and that no one must try to re-impose it.

Does Paul then do what we saw Christ did not do, and simply abolish the Sabbath day? Certainly he abolishes it in the form in which it had existed from the time of Moses: he abolishes its special sacrifices and its involvement in even the abstract possibility of justification by works. He

[24] In these two passages, Paul is actually speaking only of love to one's neighbour, but in Rom. 8:4-9 he implicitly says the same about love to God, this being the opposite of "enmity against God", and so equivalent to that "walking after the Spirit" which "fulfils the ordinance of the Law". Love towards God is for Paul a summary of the Christian life (Rom. 8:28; 1 Cor. 2:9; 8:3; 2 Thess. 3:5).

abolishes also the detailed restrictions as to permissible and impermissible acts, with which it had been compassed not simply by the rabbis but by the Mosaic Law itself (see pp. 19-20 above); for the primary commandment of love does not necessarily involve the literal observance of all these, and Paul's principle in such cases is "Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind" (Rom. 14:5). But is this all? Or does he abolish, in addition, the link which the Sabbath had with the seventh day of the week? For to do this might seem to bring the Sabbath to a complete end.

Or would it? If the Sabbath was conceived by Jesus as a day free from normal weekday responsibilities but devoted to acts of worship and acts of mercy, it could be observed on another day of the week than just the seventh, provided there were good reasons for the change. In 1 Cor. 16:2, we find Paul drawing attention to the *first* day of the week, as a suitable day for putting aside charitable gifts.[25] In Acts 20:7 we find him personally observing the first day with the church of Troas as their regular day of worship, and the church of Troas was more likely than not a church of Pauline foundation, in which case he presumably introduced the observance of the first day there himself.[26] Is the first day, then, the Pauline form of the Sabbath day, adapted to Christian use, and observed as a day for merciful deeds and worship on the weekly anniversary of Christ's resurrection? If it is not, it is something remarkably similar. In Col. 2:16f. Paul ranks the Jewish Sabbath as a type now fulfilled, and it is difficult to suppose that, in his thinking, the first day does not have some part in that fulfilment.

Against this it may be urged that Paul's language, especially in Rom. 14:5, seems to abolish distinctions of days absolutely. But his language must be understood in its context. It is Jewish distinctions of days, and Jewish distinctions of foods, especially as observed by Jewish Christians, that are in question in Rom. 14-15 and 1 Cor. 8-11. To understand this teaching is abolishing all distinctions of days without exception would conflict with Paul's own practice and teaching elsewhere with regard to the first day of the week. It is therefore Jewish distinction of days, with their legal implications, that Paul has in mind, not Christian distinction of days, stemming from the gospel.

Legalism, whether in regard to the seventh day of the week or the first, would certainly have been foreign to Paul's mind. Legalism forgets that

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[25] Though it is apparently a private duty that Paul is enjoining in 1 Cor. 16:2, his choice of this day for it must be significant. Paul, as a Jew, would presumably be referring to the first day of the *Jewish* week. There was also a pagan planetary week, beginning on Saturday, of which Rordorf gives a detailed account; but no evidence has been found to support the conjecture that its first day was a pay-day, and so might have been in Paul's mind here.

[26] The form of language in Acts 20:7 seems to imply that to meet for the breaking of bread on the first day of the week was normal practice for Paul and for the church of Troas. See p. 43 below.

Jesus's own attitude to the Sabbath was the reverse of legalistic, and that there is an important sense in which Christians are free from the Law—not only from its penalty, but also from its obligation. Literal obedience to the detailed outward observances of the Law was seen by the first Christians as a burdensome yoke from which Christ had freed them (Acts 15:10), and as a middle wall of partition, hindering the conversion of the Gentiles, which Christ had broken down (Eph. 2:14f.). The New Testament stresses the fact that observance of the Law is summed up in love (Matt. 22:36-40; Rom. 13:8-10; Gal. 5:14), and that consequently the Christian is not bound to obey the Law literally except in so far as love of God and man binds him to. This "fulfilment" of the Law makes very far-reaching demands on the Christian—greater demands, in fact, than the old literal interpretation made (Matt. 5:17-48); but they are demands which do not enslave the Christian but set him free, since they are accompanied by justification from his sins and by the gift of God's Spirit (Rom. 8:1-17).

At the same time, deliverance from legalism is a very different thing from the abolition of law. Law remains an important moral rule of life for Christians, as is shown, for example, by the fact that most of the Ten Commandments (though not actually the fourth) are quoted in the New Testament. The fifth is quoted in Mark 7:10 and Eph. 6:2f., the sixth in Matt. 5:21, the seventh in Matt. 5:27, the tenth in Rom. 7:7, the fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth together in Mark 10:19, the sixth, seventh, eighth, and tenth together in Rom. 13:9, and the sixth and seventh together in Jas. 2:11. Thus, the last six commandments are all quoted, most of them several times; and the substance of them often appears in places where they are not actually quoted.[27] Rordorf attempts to base an argument against the Sabbath on the fact that, though other commandments of the Decalogue are quoted, the Sabbath commandment is not (*op. cit.*, p. 106f.). But the truth is that none of the first four commandments, setting forth our duty to God, is quoted—only the last six, setting forth our duty to man.[28] Are we then to infer that our duty to God (to love whom is the first commandment of all) is less important than our duty to man? Or that Christ and his apostles do not

[27] The substance, though not the actual wording, of the last six commandments is reproduced and endorsed in the following places: the fifth commandment in Rom. 1:30; Col. 3:20; 1 Tim. 5:4; 2 Tim. 3:2; the sixth commandment in Mark 3:4; 7:22; John 8:44; Rom. 1:29; Jas. 4:2; 1 Pet. 4:15; 1 John 3:15; Rev. 9:21; 21:8; 22:15; the seventh commandment in Mark 7:22; 10:11f.; 1 Cor. 6:9; Heb. 13:4; 2 Pet. 2:14; the eighth commandment in Mark 7:22; 11:17; 1 Cor. 6:10; Eph. 4:28; 1 Pet. 4:15; Rev. 9:21; the ninth commandment in Matt. 15:19; 1 Cor. 15:15; 1 Tim. 3:11; 2 Tim. 3:3; Titus 2:3; 1 Pet. 3:16; and the tenth commandment in Mark 7:22; Luke 12:15; Rom. 1:29; 1 Cor. 5:11; 6:10; Eph. 5:3, 5; Col. 3:5; 1 Tim. 3:3; 6:10; 2 Tim. 3:2; Heb. 13:5; 2 Pet. 2:3, 14.

[28] Actually, the fourth commandment comes nearer to being quoted than the first three. The statement in the latter part of it that "the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that is in them" (Exod. 20:11) is echoed in the NT four times (Acts 4:24; 14:15; Rev. 10:6; 14:7).

care if we have other gods than one (despite Mark 12:29; Rom. 3:30; 1 Cor. 8:4, 6; Gal. 3:20; Eph. 4:6; 1 Tim. 2:5; Jas. 2:19; 4:12)? or if we commit idolatry (despite Acts 17:29; Rom. 1:22-25; 1 Cor. 5:11; 6:9f.; 10:7, 14; 2 Cor. 6:16; Gal. 5:19-21; 1 Thess. 1:9; 1 Pet. 4:3; 1 John 5:21; Rev. 9:20; 21:8; 22:15)? or if we take God's name in vain (despite Matt. 6:9; Luke 1:49; Rom. 2:24; 1 Tim. 6:1; Rev. 11:18; 15:4; 16:9)? But if the last six commandments are repeated in the New Testament, both in word and in substance, and the first three are repeated in substance, it is certainly strange if the fourth does not have equal status. The presumption surely is that it does. The fourth commandment may require some measure of reinterpretation in a Christian context, just as Jesus reinterprets the sixth and seventh commandments in the Sermon on the Mount, and Paul implicitly reinterprets the fifth in Eph. 6:2f., but reinterpretation need not involve (any more than in these instances) a change of substance.

THE LORD'S DAY

It is a striking fact that the Jewish Sabbath almost disappears from recorded Christian practice after Christ's resurrection.[29] The very day before his resurrection occurs, we find the disciples resting on the Jewish Sabbath (Luke 23:56; cp. also Mark 16:1; John 19:42), but after it has happened the observance of the seventh day is never mentioned except as a tolerated option for Jewish Christians (Rom. 14:5), or an intolerable imposition by Judaising heretics (Gal. 4:9-11; Col. 2:16f.), or in passages where Paul reasons with the Jews in the synagogue on the Sabbath (Acts 13:14, 42, 44; 17:2; 18:4; cp. also Acts 16:13), not so much, it appears, because the observance of the day is a regular part of his own devotional practice as because it provides an excellent opportunity for evangelism. The Acts of the

[29] The Seventh Day Adventist claim that, until the time of Constantine in the fourth century, the church did not observe Sunday but only Saturday, is one which first sprang out of ignorance, and can only be maintained today in the face of the most cogent historical evidence to the contrary. Samuele Bacchiocchi, in his defence of Seventh Day Adventism *From Sabbath to Sunday* (Rome: Gregorian University Press, 1977), makes the much more modest claim that, up to the mid-second century, Christians observed the Jewish Sabbath and the Quartodeciman Easter, but the church of Rome then replaced the former by Sunday and the latter by Easter Sunday, both derived from sun-worship. The main objections to this revised theory are (i) that there is evidence for the Christian observance of Sunday well before the mid-second century; (ii) that the idea of Paul treating the observance of the Jewish Sabbath as obligatory, even for Gentile Christians, is flatly contrary to his actual teaching; (iii) that Easter Sunday more likely arose at Antioch than at Rome, before, not after, the Quartodeciman Easter (see the following chapter); (iv) that as a commemoration of Christ's resurrection, the rise of Easter Sunday is perfectly intelligible without any appeal to sun-worship; (v) that the attitude of the church of Rome in the mid-second century to those who rejected the church's Jewish inheritance is shown, by its repudiation of Marcionism, to have been hostile, not sympathetic.

Apostles does supply some remarkable evidence of the observance of the ceremonial Law by Paul (Acts 18:18; 20:16; 21:23f., 26f.; 24:17f.), yet we know from 1 Corinthians that this was not his constant habit, but that he adapted his practice to the circles in which he was moving, whether Jewish or Gentile, in order to avoid giving needless offence (1 Cor. 9:19-23). Since he regarded the Jewish Sabbath as a type now fulfilled (Col. 2:16f.), he probably treated this in the same way.

Now, Paul was not alone in his attitude. We have the testimony of both Luke and Paul that even Peter, one of the pillars of the church of Jerusalem, did not try to keep the whole ceremonial Law (Acts 15:10; Gal. 2:12-14), and in both passages other of the Jewish Christians are linked with Peter. The attitude of James (whatever opinions the Judaizers may have attributed to him) does not seem to have been markedly different. In his epistle he manifests no enthusiasm for the ceremonial Law, and the "works" that he calls for are works of love and faith like the relief of needy fellow-Christians or (in Old Testament terms) the offering of Isaac by Abraham and the helping of Joshua's messengers by Rahab (Jas. 2:14-26). Moreover, in Acts 21, the report which he says has incensed the Christians of Jerusalem is not that Paul does not obey the Law but that he forbids people to obey it, and the test that he proposes to Paul could not in the nature of the case show that Paul always conforms to it but only that he is willing to do so on occasion, and hence is not hostile to such conformity (vv. 20-24).[30]

This being so, it cannot be taken for granted that all Jewish Christians continued the strict observance of the Jewish Sabbath, after the Lord's Day had come into use as well. It would depend on whether, like Paul, they thought of the Jewish Sabbath as a type fulfilled (Col. 2:16f.). In Palestine, indeed, public opinion must have strongly discouraged complete disregard of the Jewish Sabbath, especially with the tide of Jewish nationalism rising higher and higher as the first century ran its course;[31] and the conscience of the weaker brother must have been another important restraining influence. Yet even in Palestine it is quite possible that Peter and James and other moderate men sympathised with Paul's attitude, at least privately, and it is

[30] It should not be thought that Acts plays down the strictness of the Jewish Christians of Palestine. On the contrary, as Jacob Jervel has argued, convincingly in the main, Acts emphasises this (*Luke and the People of God*, Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1972, chs. 2, 5). So any qualifications that it makes should be given their full weight.

[31] This may be the explanation of Matt. 24:20—not that Christ envisaged his followers having scruples about the performance of acts of necessity on the Sabbath, contrary to what we saw on p. 28, but that he envisaged unbelieving Jews putting obstacles in their way, by discouragement, threats, the barring of city gates, etc. (see D. A. Carson, *From Sabbath to Lord's Day*, Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1982, p. 73f.). How far the Jewish Christians actually shared the nationalistic ambitions of their fellow-countrymen is uncertain, but it must not be forgotten that they had been warned by this prophecy of Christ's that Jewish nationalism was heading for disaster.

noteworthy that at the Jerusalem council in Acts 15 they refrain from imposing the Sabbath upon Gentile Christians, just as they refrain from imposing circumcision upon them, thus recognising that both institutions have ceased to be indispensable parts of a life pleasing to God.[32]

But whatever the personal beliefs of the Jewish-Christian leaders may have been, and whatever concessions they may have made to Gentile converts, it seems likely on the whole that, in the outward practice of the first-century church of Palestine, the Jewish Sabbath was as widely observed in some form as circumcision was. Just as circumcision was practised side by side with baptism (Acts 2:38-41; 21:20f., etc.), so, probably, the Sabbath was kept side by side with the Lord's Day. This, of course, is to assume that the Lord's Day also was observed from an early date by the Palestinian church, and direct testimony is as much lacking on this point as it is on their observance of the Sabbath. Nevertheless, the indirect evidence is very strong, and shows not merely that the Lord's Day was kept by Jewish Christians, but that it originated with them. The evidence is as follows.

In the first place, though the New Testament mentions the Lord's Day only outside Palestine, in Acts 20:7; 1 Cor. 16:2, and Rev. 1:10; yet in the first of these instances we find it being observed in the presence of Paul, who was not a Gentile but a Jew, brought up in Jerusalem (Acts 22:3; 26:4); who often emphasises his Jewish descent (Acts 23:6; Rom. 11:1; 2 Cor. 11:22; Phil. 3:5); and whose thought is profoundly Jewish, as works like W. D. Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*,[33] show; in the second instance it is mentioned in one of his letters; and in the third instance it is mentioned in the book of the prophet John, who likewise gives every appearance of being a Jew, especially in his highly Semitised Greek. The references make it clear that both Paul and John approved of the Lord's Day and personally observed it.[34]

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[32] As has often been observed, the decree of the Jerusalem council is based upon the so-called Noahic Laws, listed in the Tosephta (Abodah Zarah 8:4) and in a baraita recorded in the Babylonian Talmud (Sanhedrin 56a), and discussed in the succeeding columns of the Talmud. These are laws believed to have been imposed upon all mankind, at least from the time of Noah, if not from the time of Adam, so that a heathen who transgressed them was held culpable by a Jewish court. A God-fearer or half-proselyte was naturally expected to observe them, though he was not expected to be circumcised or to observe the whole Law; and this seems to have been the model on which the Jerusalem council worked. A God-fearer, however, was expected to observe the Sabbath as well as the Noahic Laws, in accordance with what is required of the resident alien in the fourth commandment (though a baraita in Bab. Kerithoth 9a somewhat reduces the stringency of the Sabbath law in such a case). But of the Sabbath the Jerusalem council's decree, significantly, says nothing.

[33] 2nd edn. reprinted, London: SPCK, 1962.

[34] For a refutation of the theory that Rev. 1:10 refers not to Sunday but to Easter Day, see Rordorf, *op. cit.*, pp. 208-15. The patristic evidence of the late first century and the first half of the second, from which Rordorf argues, strongly supports the view that the Lord's Day was Sunday, that it was kept as a memorial of Christ's resurrection, and that it was the church's

Secondly, the earliest post-biblical references to the Lord's Day, given in note 34, include more than one from Syria (which was peculiarly closely related to Palestine, both in geography and in language) or from Palestine itself. What is probably the earliest of all post-biblical references, that in Didache 14, is of such an origin; and here we find the peculiar expression "the Lord's (Day) of the Lord". The omission of the noun "day" from the name is common in the early church, the feminine form of the adjective κυριακός (dominical, the Lord's) showing what has been omitted; but the duplication κυριακὴ and κυρίου is more surprising. Probably the explanation is that the name "Lord's Day" originated in Aramaic, which has no word "dominical" and so would use the genitive of the noun, as is sometimes done in the kindred Syriac language (cp. the Peshitta of 1 Cor. 11:20, where "the Lord's Day" is *yawmeh demãran);* but that when the name was rendered into Greek the adjective "dominical" was either added, as here, or substituted, as normally, to show that it was the ecclesiastical "Day of the Lord", not the eschatological, that was meant. If, however, the name is of Aramaic origin, the festival it denotes is probably of Palestinian origin.

Thirdly, the fact that the Lord's Day falls on "the first day of the week" (Acts 20:7; 1 Cor. 16:2) is significant. In a Jewish writer like Paul, and in the continuation of St. Luke's Gospel (cp. Acts 20:7 with Luke 24:1), this doubtless means the first day of the *Jewish* week. Now, a festival on "the first day of the (Jewish) week", called by that name, could hardly arise except among Jews.[35]

Fourthly, the non-Gnostic party among the Ebionites, an anti-Pauline Judaising sect which originated from the Jewish Christians of Palestine, observed the Lord's Day as well as the Sabbath (see Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* 3:27:5). So it must have been celebrated among Jewish Christians in Palestine, and without known dependence on the influence of Paul; and it is much more likely that the churches in Gentile lands derived the observance from them than the other way round.

The date at which the Lord's Day started to be observed is more obscure. The earliest mention of the day is in 1 Corinthians, about A.D. 54, perhaps a year before the events at Troas recorded in Acts 20. This is approximately twenty-four years after Christ's resurrection. But since the observance of the day probably first arose in Jewish-Christian circles in Palestine, since (as we shall see) it was observed in commemoration of Christ's resurrection, and

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regular day of corporate worship. See Didache 14; Ignatius, *Magnesians* 9; Epistle of Barnabas 15; Gospel of Peter 9, 12; Justin Martyr, *First Apology* 67. Compared with this, the evidence for the existence of Easter is late; but, once the church had Sunday as a commemoration of the Resurrection, it is natural that in time the Sunday following the Passover should have come to be specially emphasised, as an annual commemoration of the same event.

[35] See also note 25 on p. 33 above.

since commemorative festivals often originate soon after the events they commemorate, at the same period as well as the same place, it is not at all improbable that this is what happened with the Lord's Day, and that it had been celebrated since soon after the Resurrection. If so, the first to observe it were the Twelve and their circle, who must be considered to have instituted it; though it is not their institution of the day that is recorded in the New Testament but the endorsement of the day by Paul and John.

It is customary to speak of the Lord's Day as replacing the Jewish Sabbath. This is what it eventually did, and this may be the way that Paul thought of it from a very early stage. But the substitution doubtless took place much more quickly among Gentile Christians than among Jewish, and originally, as we have said, the two days were probably celebrated by many Jewish Christians side by side, as by the Ebionites afterwards. Their way of observing the Lord's Day would be likely to resemble their way of observing the Sabbath, that is to say, by rest and worship—this being the manner in which the Jews observed all their important holy days (see pp. 49-50 below); and until Christians were excluded from the synagogues, and the Temple was destroyed, the Palestinian church may have been accustomed to rest and join in synagogue and Temple worship on the Sabbath, and to rest and join in Christian worship on the Lord's Day. If so, their exclusion from the synagogues and the destruction of the Temple probably led those among them of moderate, Pauline views to concentrate their weekly rest and worship on the Lord's Day, while the rigorous legalists became founders of Ebionism. The alienation between Church and Synagogue was probably by this time such that the moderates positively desired to dissociate themselves from the Jewish Sabbath, just as they desired to dissociate themselves from Jewish fast days (Didache 8). The most that they were willing to do thereafter was to refrain from acts of positive disrespect to the Sabbath, like treating it as a fast instead of a festival (cp. Tertullian, *On Fasting* 14f.; Hippolytus, *Commentary on Daniel* 4:20).

It has sometimes been thought incredible that the early Jewish Christians should have rested for two days in the week. To us who live in the age of the five-day working week, this seems less hard to believe. It should not be assumed that the Jewish Christians, and certainly not the moderate leaders among them, like Peter and James, observed the Sabbath with a Shammaite rigour. They cannot have been oblivious of the new interpretation of the Sabbath given by Christ, with its stress on the practice of acts of mercy on that day, as well as acts of worship. When they started to observe the Lord's Day also, they would certainly not have applied rules of greater stringency to the new festival than to the old, and the possibility that they kept a measure of rest on both days is therefore a very real one. This would be the case even if we did not have the remarkable evidence of Luke about the life of the

Jerusalem church. Luke tells us that the apostles "were continually in the Temple" (Luke 24:53; Acts 3:1); that they "continued steadfastly in prayer" with the women and the Saviour's family (Acts 1:14); that their converts "continued steadfastly in the apostles' teaching and in fellowship, in the breaking of bread and in the prayers" (Acts 2:42); that "day by day" all who believed "continued steadfastly with one accord in the Temple and broke bread at home... and the Lord added to them day by day those that were being saved" (Acts 2:46f.); and that "every day, in the Temple and at home, the apostles ceased not to teach and to preach Jesus as the Christ" (Acts 5:42; cp. 3:11ff.; 5:12ff.). As long as this state of affairs continued, it does not look as if it would have been any problem to the church of Jerusalem to have rested from remunerative labour, either partly or wholly, on many more days in the week than a mere two!

The likelihood that the church of Palestine originally observed both the Sabbath and the Lord's Day has seemed to some an objection to the belief that the Lord's Day fulfils the Sabbath. A straight substitution, such as there appears to have been among Gentile Christians, would leave room for a sabbatarian interpretation of the Lord's Day, it is suggested, but the observance of both days side by side excludes it. This is to forget, however, that all the early institutions of Christianity were originally observed by Jewish Christians side by side with their Mosaic counterparts. Baptism was observed side by side with circumcision: this is beyond question. But the continued participation of the Jerusalem church in the sacrificial worship of the Temple strongly suggests that the Lord's Supper was likewise observed side by side with the Passover meal. And it would only be natural that, when the disciples added to Christ's own two institutions the institution of the Lord's Day, it would be observed side by side with the Sabbath. If this is so, far from it being improbable that they thought of the Lord's Day in sabbatarian terms, the reverse is true. For the evidence that baptism fulfils the Old Testament initiation rite and that the Lord's Supper fulfils the Old Testament memorial feast is virtually inescapable; moreover, it is likely, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, that the disciples would model the Lord's Day on the general lines of the festival they already knew and practised. If, of course, it could be shown that the Lord's Day did not originally exhibit the characteristics of the Sabbath (after it had been reformed by Jesus), and was not a weekly memorial day, on which one rested, as far as possible, from weekday duties, in order to devote it to acts of worship and mercy, then this presumption would fall to the ground. But the remainder of the chapter will make it clear whether the Lord's Day did possess such a character or not.

THE SABBATH AND THE LORD'S DAY AS WEEKLY FESTIVALS

Like the Sabbath, but unlike almost any other festival in the ancient world (certainly any Jewish festival), the Lord's Day is celebrated at intervals of seven days, both observances being controlled by the Jewish week. This simple fact establishes a specific difference between the two festivals, but a general similarity between them, which is at least equally significant. The Sabbath, as the *last* day of the week, marks the successful *completion* of God's work of Creation and of redemption from Egypt, while the Lord's Day, as the *first* day of the week, marks the *new beginning* brought about through Christ's resurrection. This is undoubtedly a difference, and in circumstances and contexts of controversy with Jews one finds early Christian writers stressing the difference (Ignatius, *Magnesians* 9, and Epistle of Barnabas 15 being the earliest examples). But the very contrast that is drawn implies a comparison, and the fact that both festivals are observed weekly, on different days of the Jewish week, shows how close that comparison is.

THE SABBATH AND THE LORD'S DAY AS WEEKLY MEMORIAL DAYS

The only actual directive about the observance of the Lord's Day in the New Testament is 1 Cor. 16:2. The other two references are a factual narrative of what took place on a particular Lord's Day, and a passing allusion. This being so, a great deal is left to inference, and, as in the case of the two Christian sacraments, inference must be based partly on the general teaching of the New Testament, and partly on its Old Testament and Jewish background. The first day of the week is mentioned in the Bible in only two connections. It is the day on which light was created (Gen. 1:3-5) and it is the day on which Christ rose from the dead and appeared to his followers (Matt. 28:1; Mark 16:2; Luke 24:1; John 20:1, 19, 26).[36] "The Lord's Day" (ἡ κυριακὴ ἡμέρα) is found by this precise name only in Rev. 1:10. "The day of the Lord" is used of the eschatological coming of God in the Old Testament, and of that of Christ in the New (Isa. 2:12; 13:6, 9; Jer. 46:10; Ezek. 13:5; 30:3; Joel 1:15; 2:1, 11, 31; 3:14; Amos 5:18, 20; Obad. 15; Zeph. 1:7, 14; Zech. 14:1; Mal. 4:5; 1 Cor. 5:5; 1 Thess. 5:2; 2 Pet. 3:10); and in Aramaic, as we saw on p. 38, this phrase is indistinguishable from "the Lord's Day". "The Lord's holy day" is found in Isa. 58:13, with

[36] Thereby (as Paul remarks in Acts 26:23) "proclaiming *light* both to the people and to the Gentiles". The fact that the Lord's Day is the day of light may be one of its minor links with the Sabbath (see pp. 13-15, p. 24).

reference to the Sabbath (cp. "the Lord's Sabbaths" in Lev. 23:38, and "thy holy Sabbath", "my Sabbaths", "a Sabbath to the Lord" elsewhere in the Old Testament). All these conceptions may have relevance to the Lord's Day, but since the first day of the week was newly chosen as a festival in the New Testament period, it is reasonable to look for its primary meaning in New Testament events and doctrines. On this showing, the Lord's Day would be primarily a memorial of Christ's resurrection or an anticipation of his future return, and, in view of the day of the week chosen, the former rather than the latter. The context to Rev. 1:10 confirms these conclusions: see vv. 5, 7, 18.

The idea may also be present in Revelation 1 that the Lord's Day, as the day of corporate worship, is the church's day of meeting with the risen Lord; but John's meeting with him was unique, and the idea is certainly not explicit.

As a memorial of Christ's resurrection, the Lord's Day immediately recalls the Sabbath, which was the weekly memorial of two other events, Creation and the Exodus (see pp. 18-19, 21-22). The event commemorated is different, but the fact of a weekly day of commemoration is the same.

The contention of Rordorf that the phrase κυριακὴ ἡμέρα in Rev. 1:10 must be derived from κυριακὸν δεῖπνον (1 Cor. 11:20), and must consequently mean the day on which the Lord's Supper is celebrated (*op. cit.*, pp. 221, 274f.), is very improbable. κυριακός is merely the adjectival form of Κύριος, and its simple meaning is "belonging to the Lord". The fact that it occurs in the New Testament only in these two places may mean that it was not a very common word, but we find it used outside the New Testament both in the same connections and in different connections, and the underlying Aramaic expression must have been much more common than the Greek.[37] The context in Revelation 1 is against Rordorf's theory, since it contains clear references to Christ's resurrection and return (vv. 5, 7, 18) but none to the sacrament; and though it is true, as Rordorf says, that Christ ate with his disciples on the day when he rose (Luke 24:41-43), yet there is no indication that the meal was the sacrament, and the whole emphasis of the Gospel narrative at this stage is on his resurrection, the eating being a deliberate demonstration on his part that he was really alive again. It is also worth noting that the Greek Fathers, who would be more sensitive to Greek linguistic nuances than we are, see no verbal connection between "the Lord's Day" and "the Lord's Supper", for by the time of Hippolytus (*c.* A.D. 215) κυριακὸν δεῖπνον has come to mean the agape, or love-feast, separated

[37] As noted above, there is no adjective "dominical" in Aramaic, so "Lord's Day" and "Day of the Lord", "Lord's Supper" and "Supper of the Lord" would in Aramaic be indistinguishable, and would simply be two among the large group of similar phrases reflected in NT Greek: "angel of the Lord", "name of the Lord", "way of the Lord", "Temple of the Lord", "the Lord's death", "the Lord's brother", etc.

from the sacrament, and commonly held on weekdays—days suitable for fasting (*Apostolic Tradition* 25-27). We know from Acts 20 that the custom of celebrating the sacrament on the Lord's Day is an early one; and the appropriateness of celebrating the memorial of his death on the memorial of his resurrection is clear to anyone who considers how closely his death and resurrection are linked in the New Testament; but the inference that the Lord's Supper gave its name to the Lord's Day is one which the evidence does not permit us to draw. Rordorf's moral for today, that the only thing which really matters on the Lord's Day is the celebration of the sacrament (*op. cit.*, pp. 305f.), is similarly excluded. "The Lord's Day", be it repeated, simply means the day belonging to the Lord; it is observed in the New Testament by celebrating the sacrament, preaching and in other ways; but above all—and this is the reason why the first day of the week was chosen—it is the memorial of the Lord's resurrection.

The Sabbath and the Lord's Day as Weekly Days of Worship

It has already been noted that the form of language in Acts 20:7, "when we were gathered together to break bread", seems to imply that to meet for the breaking of bread on the first day of the week was normal practice for Paul and for the church of Troas, and so calls for no explanation. Even the fact that Luke names the day of the week (not usual in his writings) appears to hint at a well-known practice on that day. The meeting described evidently occupied the evening (v. 7f.), and the day is apparently reckoned from the previous evening or morning, since Paul's intended departure at daybreak is regarded as "on the morrow" (vv. 7, 11). At what time the meeting began we are not told, but it presumably commenced in the afternoon or evening, since it goes on till dawn; though what we know of Jewish practice when teaching (see pp. 26-27 above) and of Paul's own practice when thus engaged (see Acts 28:23) makes this inference somewhat uncertain. If the meeting did begin in the afternoon or evening, there may well have been other services earlier in the day, as in the synagogue on the Sabbath. At all events, in this service Paul preaches at great length, knowing that he is about to depart, and it is not until some time after midnight that the breaking of the bread takes place (vv. 7, 9, 11).

We know also of daily worship in New Testament times. The church of Jerusalem worshipped together daily, as is shown by the evidence from Luke's writings quoted on pp. 39-40. The members of this church, though they probably lived in separate houses and practised different trades, yet had all their possessions in common (Acts 2:44f.; 4:32-5:2) and appear to have

taken their meals together (Acts 2:46; 6:1f.). Meeting so often, it is natural that they often joined in corporate worship.

The only other probable reference to daily corporate worship is in Heb. 3:12f. (cp. Heb. 10:24f.), where the recipients of the letter are bidden to meet daily for mutual exhortation, unless the meaning is that they are to exhort one another at chance meetings. In this instance, we know practically nothing of their situation, but the exhortation in ch. 10 not to forsake the assembling of themselves together would be meaningless if they had lived together and needless if they had normally eaten together; so they do not seem to have been a community in as close a sense as the Jerusalem church. On the other hand, they may have been a community like the Therapeutae of Egypt described in Philo's *De Vita Contemplativa*—indeed a closer community, in that they met for worship daily, not simply once a week. The presumption that a Hellenistic letter like Hebrews was written by a converted Hellenistic Jew, very likely an Egyptian Jew, is a strong one, and lends credibility to a destination in similar circles, though not perhaps in the same country.[38] But we must not speculate further. The point to be noted is that the recipients were not necessarily an ordinary congregation.

Apart from these two cases, the corporate worship described in the New Testament (for example, in 1 Cor. 10-14) is probably weekly, like that of Acts 20. The Jewish origin of the Christian church makes this likely, for there is absolutely no evidence that in the first century it was normal for synagogue worship, like Temple worship, to be held on weekdays; whereas there is abundant evidence of synagogue worship on the Sabbath, supplied by the New Testament, Philo, and Josephus. We surveyed this evidence on p. 15, p. 25, pp. 26-27.[39] It is true, as has just been said, that the mother

[38] Various theories of this kind are discussed by F. F. Bruce (*The Epistle to the Hebrews*, London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1964, pp. xxixff.). Though he thinks Italy a more likely destination for the letter than Egypt, he concludes that the recipients were a house-church belonging to a larger congregation, not a congregation in their own right.

[39] It is worth noting in this connection that one of the names for the synagogue at the beginning of the Christian era was σαββατεῖον, "the building for Sabbath-day worship": see the decree of Augustus quoted by Josephus in *Antiquities* 16:6:2, or 16:164. The fact that the Jews in some towns where Paul preached, but not others, pursued their discussions with him in their synagogue on weekdays, does not of course mean that they were accustomed to worship there on those days: see Acts 17:10f. and possibly Acts 19:8-10, but contrast Acts 13:14, 42, 44; 17:17; 18:4. Perhaps the nearest thing to regular weekday worship in the synagogues is what the Mishnah records about maamads. The Mishnah states that, while the Temple was still standing, each of the twenty-four courses of priests had a lay maamad corresponding to it, which provided an embryo congregation in Temple and synagogue through the week when that course was officiating (Taanith 4:1-5). But, in the nature of the case, a member of a maamad was on duty only one week in twenty-four. It is clear from Bikkurim 3:2 that maamads did not meet in the synagogues of all towns, and from Megillah 3:4, 6 that, even in towns where they did meet, they were not meeting all the year round. Bikkurim 3:2 implies that the country was divided into twenty-four geographical areas, with one maamad to each, in which case they would not have met in any one place for more than two or three weeks in the year. Moreover,

church at Jerusalem, with its communal life and its proximity to the Temple, worshipped together daily, but even at Jerusalem there were synagogues (Acts 6:9; 24:11f.), which may have followed a different practice, like the synagogues in other places; and wherever the disciples carried the gospel we find them associating themselves with the synagogue for as long as they are permitted to, and trying to found the local church on a Jewish nucleus (Acts 9:20; 13:5, 14; 14:1; 17:1f., 10, 17; 18:4, 19, 26; 19:8). It seems probable, therefore, that when a local church first had to separate from the synagogue, it regarded itself as a synagogue, like the congregations called "synagogues" in the Greek of Jas. 2:2 (which may or may not already have been separate), and met for worship weekly, though on the Lord's Day rather than the Jewish Sabbath. Not only so, but it probably modelled its worship on what it had been used to in the Jewish synagogue, though with the addition of the Christian sacraments and of charismatic gifts like prophecy and tongues. The four recorded elements of the first-century synagogue service (Scripture-reading, teaching, thanksgiving and prayer) are not actually found together in New Testament accounts of specifically Christian services; and the first is not mentioned at all, except by implication (where the *exposition* of Scripture is spoken of, 2 Tim. 3:16, or the reading of *Christian* compositions, 1 Thess. 5:27; Rev. 1:3); though thanksgiving and prayer are more fully attested (Matt. 18:19; Acts 2:42; 1 Cor. 14:14-17; 1 Tim. 2:8), and teaching more fully still (Acts 20:7-9; 1 Cor. 14:26; Eph. 4:11; 1 Tim. 3:2; etc.). But when we first have a clear description of a Christian Sunday service as a whole, in Justin Martyr's *First Apology* 67, dating from about A.D. 155, the influence of the synagogue service is plainly visible and is universally admitted.[40]

It might perhaps be objected by people without experience of community life that the Lord's Day cannot originally have been a day of worship in any special sense, seeing that the church of Jerusalem worshipped together daily. But, in the first place, if this were true it would apply also to the Sabbath, and the Jerusalem church would have had no special day of worship at all. Rather, the likelihood is that, since the church of Jerusalem worshipped

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the services of the maamads took a form which shows that the later daily services were not yet in use; for they included readings from Scripture (Taanith 4:2f.) and were four in number—morning prayer, additional prayer, afternoon prayer, and the closing of the gates (Taanith 4:3-5). In both these ways they correspond to the Temple and synagogue services of Sabbaths and holy days, not to the later daily services, which were only three, and did not include Scripture-readings. Apart from maamads, the Mishnah mentions services on Mondays and Thursdays (Megillah 3:6-4:1), but states that these were held only in some towns, not all (Megillah 1:3). See Ismar Elbogen, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (Hildesheim: Olms reprint, 1962), pp. 99f., 237, 239f.; A. Z. Idelsohn, *Jewish Liturgy and its Development* (New York: Sacred Music Press, 1932), pp. xvii-xix, 24, 27f., 30f., 118f.

[40] See, e.g., C. W. Dugmore, *The Influence of the Synagogue upon the Divine Office* (London: Faith Press edn., 1964), chs. 5, 7.

together on ordinary weekdays, it devoted even more time to worship, and especially to the ministry of the word, on its two weekly festivals. This would agree with known Jewish practice on the Sabbath, according to which a great part of the day was thus spent (see pp. 26-27 above). Secondly, it must be remembered that Jewish Christianity soon spread outside the communal life of Jerusalem to other places in Palestine (Acts 8:1; 9:31-43), and that there the special character of the Sabbath and Lord's Day would have been highlighted. Thirdly, Jewish-Christian practice at an early date, before the abandonment of the Jewish Sabbath, is reflected in the customs of the Ebionites. But here we find no indication that the special character of the Lord's Day as a day of worship is not recognised. On the contrary, the Ebionites, says Eusebius, as well as observing the Sabbath, "each Lord's Day celebrated rites similar to ours" (*Ecclesiastical History* 3:27:5).

The Sabbath and the Lord's Day as Weekly Days for Works of Mercy

One of the great points of controversy between Jesus and the Pharisees, as we have already seen on pp. 28-29, was his insistence on performing works of mercy on the Sabbath. In Luke 13:14, the ruler of the synagogue indignantly says, "There are six days in which men ought to work: in these therefore come and be healed, and not on the day of the Sabbath". The basic principle here is that the Sabbath is a day of rest. On a day of rest one does not work, and, since healing is work, one does not heal. The only exception allowed is when life is in danger.

For Jesus, the basic principle seems to be rather different. He too is indignant, but because mercy is being confined to those in danger of death. When his opponents objected to him healing the man with the withered hand, he "looked round about on them with anger, being grieved at the hardening of their heart" (Mark 3:5). Elsewhere he applies to one of his Sabbath controversies the prophetic saying "I desire mercy and not sacrifice" (Matt. 12:7, quoting Hos. 6:6). So the basic principle for Jesus is perhaps that the Sabbath is the day which God has blessed and sanctified (Gen. 2:3). He has "sanctified" it not only for rest from weekday duties but for worship, and not only for worship but for works of mercy, which are, after all, among the weightier matters of the Law (Matt.23:23). And if so, God's "blessing" of the day includes likewise the blessing of performing and experiencing works of mercy.

If Jesus had been satisfied with doing these acts of mercy on the eve of the Sabbath, there would have been no controversy. According to Kaufmann

Kohler, it was the regular practice in Mishnaic times to distribute poor-relief on Friday, as the eve of the Sabbath.[41] For Jesus, however, there was no need to avoid the Sabbath itself: on the contrary, there was special appropriateness in using the Sabbath for this sort of activity. One might show hospitality to guests on the Sabbath (Luke 14:1), so why might one not relieve the poor and the sick then?

One of the New Testament references to the Lord's Day suggests that Jesus's revolutionary conception of the Sabbath has been transferred to that day also. In 1 Cor. 16:1f., dealing with the collection which Paul made in his missionary congregations for the relief of the impoverished Jewish Christians at Jerusalem, he selects the first day of the week as the occasion when the Corinthians should set aside a proportion of their week's earnings for this purpose. It might have been more natural for them to do this on the last day of the week, but since the specifically Christian holy day is the first day, and since Jesus had taught that holy days are days for acts of mercy, he selects the first day instead.

The fact of the Sunday agape may also be due, in part, to the same cause, since the agape was provided by the wealthier Christians for the benefit of the poorer (1 Cor. 11:20-22, 33f.). This subject is further explored on pp. 53-55 below.

The Sabbath and the Lord's Day as Weekly Days of Purposeful Rest

Rordorf is one of the latest of a line of writers who make a sharp distinction between the Lord's Day as the day of corporate worship and the Lord's Day as the weekly day of rest. The former, he holds, goes back to the New Testament, but the latter was only introduced by the emperor Constantine in the fourth century. In prosecuting this thesis, he draws his arguments partly from writings of the Fathers, and partly from the supposed impossibility of Christians in pagan society resting on Sunday, both because many of them were slaves, and because, in times of persecution, a Christian who rested would thereby betray himself (*op. cit.*, pp. 85, 103f., 154-173). His case from the Fathers is very vulnerable. Wilfrid Stott shows in the second part of the book that we jointly wrote[42] that the patristic evidence is capable of a wholly different interpretation. There are passages in Origen, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian and even earlier writers, which seem clearly to teach that Sunday is a day of rest, corresponding to the Sabbath. Moreover, the Fathers regard the whole day as sacred, and appear to have devoted a great

[41] "Charity and Charitable Institutions", in *The Jewish Encyclopedia*.
[42] *This is the Day* (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1978).

part of it to corporate worship, not hesitating to invade the normal hours of work for this purpose. The fact that the Fathers hesitate to call the Lord's Day a Sabbath or to apply the fourth commandment to it is probably due to the contemporary context of controversy with the Jews, and to the exclusive emphasis which Jews often tended to lay on rest, as the all-important Sabbath duty.

As to Rordorf's other arguments, it should be noted that pagan Romans were used to the Jews resting on Saturday, so would not necessarily have been intolerant of Christians resting on Sunday; that the proportion of early Christians who were slaves, and the harshness with which slaves were treated in the Roman world, are often exaggerated, but that slaves who were compelled to work on a day they regarded as a holy rest-day would have been able to comfort themselves that Christ permitted acts of necessity on the Sabbath; that persecution is not now thought to have been as frequent in the early centuries as was once believed; and that the danger of revealing one's Christian allegiance by resting would have been small compared with the danger of revealing it by joining in worship—a danger which was frequently braved.

So much for arguments against the conception of the Lord's Day as a day of rest. Turning now to arguments on the other side, it should be noted first that the disjunction between a day of rest and a day of worship ignores the fact that, to the Jew, rest was itself an expression of worship. As was observed on pp. 21-22 above, the Sabbath rest was from the beginning a symbolic rest, commemorating God's rest after completing his work of Creation, and Israel's rest after her deliverance from the servitude of Egypt had been achieved. As a thankful commemoration of these great events, Israel's imitative rest on the Sabbath was itself worship. And a symbolical rest by the church on the Lord's Day, thankfully commemorating the completion of Christ's saving work by his resurrection, would similarly be worship.

The second fact to be noted is that there seems to be a hint of rest in each of the three New Testament references to Sunday. "The Lord's Day" (Rev. 1:10), as we saw on pp. 42-43 above, means "the day belonging to the Lord". But if it belongs to the Lord, it should be devoted to the Lord, just as the Lord's Sabbath was (Exod. 20:8-11; 31:13-15; 35:2; Lev. 23:3; Deut. 5:12-14; Isa. 58:13).[43] Not that other days should not be devoted to the Lord

[43] κυριακός could imply a vaguer relationship, like 'pertaining to the Lord', as is clear from R. J. Bauckham's survey of usage in D. A. Carson, ed., *From Sabbath to Lord's Day*, pp. 222-27. However, since the closest analogy to "the Lord's Day" is Isaiah's implied name for the Sabbath, "the Lord's holy day" (Isa. 58:13), the possessive sense is more likely in this case too. Analogies like the monthly Σεβαστή or "Emperor's Day" (on which see Rordorf, *op. cit.*, p. 206f.) are distant by comparison.

(Rom. 14:6-9); but on this day, as Paul says in a different connection, we should be able to "attend upon the Lord without distraction" (1 Cor. 7:35).

Similarly, in 1 Cor. 16:2 we find the Lord's Day being selected not just for corporate worship but for a private duty. Commentators are more or less agreed that the phrase "let each one of you lay by him in store" must mean an action performed at home. This alone is sufficient to refute Rordorf's idea that the Lord's Day at first existed simply for corporate worship. On the contrary, the day had further duties to fill it, such as calculating what amount of one's weekly earnings one could devote to the impoverished Christians of Jerusalem. And if this act of mercy is specially appropriate on Sunday, what about other acts of mercy?

Again, in Acts 20, Sunday is the regular day of corporate worship. But Sunday worship, as we saw on p. 45, was based upon the service of the synagogue, and the service of the synagogue, as we saw on pp. 26-27, was of considerable length, far in excess of what was practicable on a working day. Not only so, but to the service of the synagogue the church had added both the exercise of charismatic gifts and the celebration of the Lord's Supper! Except in circumstances where it was absolutely impossible, therefore, the church would surely try to keep Sunday as a day of rest from normal duties.

The third and final fact which must be weighed is that not only the weekly Sabbath, but also every important Jewish feast or fast, was a day of rest. On the first and last days of Unleavened Bread, on the Day of Pentecost, on the feast of Trumpets, and on the first and last days of Tabernacles, "no laborious work" was to be done (Lev. 23:7f., 21, 25, 35f.; Num. 28:18, 25f.; 29:1, 12, 35), while on the Sabbath and on the Day of Atonement "no manner of work" was to be done (Lev. 23:3, 28, 30-32; Num. 29:7). Wherever it is stated in the Law that a day is a "holy convocation", it is also stated that it is a day of rest.[44] Now, the Jewish Christians who instituted the Lord's Day evidently instituted it to be a holy convocation—indeed, it became before long *the* holy convocation, the church's one regular day of corporate worship, through the decision of the Jerusalem council to exempt Gentile Christians from keeping the Jewish festivals (in agreement with the teaching of Paul) and through the subsequent decision of Jewish Christians to follow suit themselves. But to make the Lord's Day a holy convocation was equivalent to making it a day of rest. Otherwise one would have to suppose that its originators reckoned it of no more account than those minor festivals listed in Megillath Taanith, which

[44] Passover proper and Firstfruits (the Sheaf) are not individually described as holy convocations and days of rest, but they appear in the list of holy convocations in Lev. 23. Moreover, the Passover *meal* fell on the first day of Unleavened Bread, which *is* so described, and Firstfruits was one of the mid-festival days, on all of which a measure of rest was actually observed—as also on Passover proper (M. Pesahim 4; M. Moed Katan, *passim*).

were not holy convocations at all, and to which the only respect that was required was not to fast on such days: assembling for worship was optional, if indeed assemblies were held.[45]

At the same time, it would be wrong to suggest that the New Testament allows rest to be emphasised in relation to the Lord's Day to the same extent as the Jews emphasised it in relation to the Sabbath. On the contrary, the reform of Sabbath observance carried out by Jesus puts the main emphasis on the positive activities for which rest from normal weekday duties provides opportunity, notably, corporate worship and works of mercy.

Now that state-sponsored secularization has begun to invade the sacred day of Christendom in a manner unknown since the fourth century, many Christians are finding it as difficult to use the whole of the Lord's Day for the intended purposes as their predecessors did before the conversion of the Roman Empire; and the challenge that faces them is not to abandon altogether the day which God has blessed and sanctified, but to do as much as their circumstances allow, looking forward hopefully to better times in the future. In the meanwhile, they can lay aside weekday duties as much as is possible for them, in thankful commemoration of their Saviour's resurrection, and devote whatever time they still have to meeting for worship and showing kindness to others.

[45] Megillath Taanith is the oldest extant piece of rabbinical literature, and the only one compiled as early as the first century (though with additions made early in the second century). It is mentioned in the Mishnah (Taanith 2:8). For text and discussion, see Solomon Zeitlin, "Megillat Taanit as a Source for Jewish Chronology and History", in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, new series, vol. 9 (1918-19), pp. 71ff.; vol. 10 (1919-20), pp. 49ff., 237ff.; A. W. Greenup, "Megillath Taanith", in *The Churchman*, vol. 36 (1922), pp. 27ff., 120ff., 204ff.; vol. 37 (1923), pp. 48ff.

CHAPTER THREE

EASTER AND WHITSUN: THE ORIGIN OF THE CHURCH'S EARLIEST ANNUAL FESTIVALS

Easter and Whitsun are not only the oldest of the great annual festivals of the Christian calendar, but are unique in being Christian adaptations of festivals celebrated by the Jews. Their existence is explained by the New Testament evidence that Christ's death and resurrection took place at the Passover season and that the coming of the Holy Spirit took place on the Day of Pentecost. Did Easter and Whitsun, however, originate from these actual events, in the Jewish Christianity of the earliest period, or did they originate at a later stage, from the New Testament record of the events, and perhaps in a Gentile setting? Did Easter and Whitsun simply evolve out of the Jewish festivals, as Christianised forms of them, or were they separately instituted, as Christian counterparts to them?

Many older writers, in the immense literature to which the mysterious origin of Easter and the church's constant difficulties about the date of Easter have given rise, opted for the former alternative, at least in the case of Easter, which is the earlier attested of the two Christian festivals.[1] Quite a number of modern writers (both liturgiologists and New Testament scholars) do the same, and assume that, although Easter is not mentioned until the second century, outside Palestine, it originated inside Palestine, far back in the first century. A. A. McArthur (*The Evolution of the Christian Year*, London: SCM, 1953) is an example. In support of such a view, various authors discussed by Willy Rordorf[2] have argued that "the Lord's Day" in Rev. 1:10 does not mean Sunday but Easter Day, while Bernhard Lohse[3] and Joachim Jeremias[4] have contended that the very Jewish-looking practice of the Quartodecimans, in celebrating Easter not on Sunday (though they did observe Sundays) but on Nisan 14, was a continuation of the customs of the early Jewish-Christian community in Palestine.[5] They infer from this,

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[1] For a survey of the Easter controversies of Christian history, see C. J. Hefele, *A History of the Christian Councils* (E. T., Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1894-96), vol. 1, pp. 298-341.

[2] *Sunday* (*ut supra*), pp. 208-215.

[3] *Das Passafest der Quartadecimaner* (Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie 2:54, Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1953).

[4] *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus* (E. T., London: SCM., 1966), p. 123.

[5] If Lohse and Jeremias are right, the transference of Easter to a Sunday was doubtless a later assimilation of the annual commemoration of Christ's resurrection to the weekly commemoration of the same event, for it would be perilous to argue that Sunday itself (so early attested) evolved out of Easter Sunday, as a third stage of development from the

incidentally, that Quartodecimanism was a conservative movement, which in other respects also, notably its manner of celebrating the Lord's Supper, provides evidence about primitive Christian practice. Another extraneous issue of importance, related to the question of the origin of Easter, is the emergence of Christianity out of Judaism, and more particularly the date of the breach between Church and Synagogue[6] and the Jewish-Christian origin of the Lord's Day.[7]

At first sight, the idea that the Christian adaptations of the two Jewish festivals go back to Jewish Christianity, and to the very period of the events they commemorate (Christ's death and resurrection and the coming of the Spirit), appears the simplest explanation. The purpose of the present essay is to test its real credibility by carrying the hypothesis through consistently, and seeing how far it squares with the known facts. Then, if it fails in the end to carry conviction, an alternative hypothesis will be proposed.

The Practice of the Jewish-Christian Church

The predominant characteristic of Jewish Christianity, as it existed especially in Palestine, was the continuance of the literal observances of the Mosaic Law alongside Christian beliefs and institutions. Thus, circumcision was continued by the Jewish Christians alongside baptism (Acts 2:38-41; 21:20f., etc.) and, since they went on offering the Temple sacrifices (Acts 21:23-26), there is every reason to suppose that they continued the eating of the Passover sacrifice alongside the celebration of the Lord's Supper. Also, we can infer from the practice of the non-Gnostic party among the Ebionites (an anti-Pauline, Judaizing sect, which took its rise from among the Jewish Christians of Palestine) that they observed both the Sabbath and Sunday, performing on the latter similar rites to those performed by other Christians.[8]

Quartodeciman Easter. The Quartodeciman observance of Sundays is attested in the title of Melito's lost work "On the Lord's Day": see Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* 4:26:2. The same passage shows that Melito's name for Easter was not κυριακή (Lord's Day) but πάσχα , so the subject of the treatise in question was certainly Sunday.

[6] See note 29 below.

[7] See pp. 37-38 above.

[8] See Eusebius, *Eccles. Hist.* 3:27:5. This information, though echoed by Theodoret (*Haereticarum Fabularum Compendium* 2:1), depends on the authority of Eusebius; but the Ebionites were still in existence in Eusebius's time, and in view of his great learning, his Palestinian environment and the general consistency of his account of the sect with other patristic accounts, it is rash to discount what he says, as is done by A. F. J. Klijn and G. J. Reinink in their *Patristic Evidence for Jewish-Christian Sects* (Supplements to Novum Testamentum 36, Leiden: Brill, 1973), pp. 25-28. Origen likewise speaks of two groups among the Ebionites, one of them more orthodox than the other (*Against Celsus* 5:61); and the more orthodox group should perhaps be identified with the Nazareans, who according to Epiphanius were the earlier group from which the other emerged (*Panarion* 1:2:30:1). The antiquity and substantial orthodoxy of the Nazareans is confirmed by fragments of their Gospel (see Edgar

Thus, for as long as the Temple stood (or, at any rate, for as long as they were not excluded from the Temple), the Jewish Christians would have shared with other Jews in offering the festal sacrifices on the great pilgrim-feasts of Passover, Pentecost and Tabernacles.[9] If the Last Supper was the Passover meal, as Jeremias has so cogently argued,[10] they doubtless not only gave their Passover meals a Christian interpretation,[11] but continued the dominical practice of actually combining with their Passover meals a celebration of the Lord's Supper. The simplest way of observing Christ's new institution would have been to observe it in its original setting of the Passover meal, and since the early Jewish Christians maintained the Passover meal, the likelihood is that on that occasion above all others they celebrated the sacrament as part of the meal. Some have supposed that this was the only occasion in the year when they celebrated the sacrament; others, arguing from Acts 2:46, have supposed that they celebrated it daily. It is clear from the Acts of the Apostles that the original Jerusalem church had regular, even daily, communal meals, but as Jews they would not have been likely to make daily use of wine, and wine is needed for the sacrament. Wine, as the Mishnah and early baraitas quoted in the Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmuds indicate, was a drink used mainly on Sabbaths and festivals, because these were times of rejoicing (M. Berakoth 8:1; Jer. Pesahim 10:1; Bab. Pesahim 108b-109a). On Sabbaths and festivals, therefore (though not more frequently), the Jerusalem church would have had an inviting opportunity not only to eat together, as usual, but to take advantage of the presence of wine by celebrating the sacrament in the course of the meal. We cannot be certain that they did so, but they very well may have done (assuming they regarded the sacrament as a privilege, not simply as an obligation); and if so it would help to explain how the eucharist so quickly became a weekly event.

There is, however, a still stronger possibility. For Jewish Christians, not only the Sabbath but the Lord's Day was a time of rejoicing, being the

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Hennecke *et al.*, *New Testament Apocrypha*, E. T., London: Lutterworth, 1963-65, vol. 1, pp. 139-153); and Jerome, who had had personal contact with the Nazareans (*De Viris Illustribus 3; Commentarii in Ev. Matt.* 4:27, on Matt. 27:9f.), uses both names for both groups, calling both the orthodox Nazareans "Ebionites" and the heretical Ebionites "Nazareans" (*Comm. in Ev. Matt.* 2:13, on Matt. 13:53f; *Epistle* 112:13). It should be observed that Eusebius, Origen, Epiphanius and Jerome were either writing in Palestine or had earlier lived in Palestine, and should not be treated as if they were simply dependent on known literary sources. That the Nazareans continued to practise both circumcision and baptism is stated about A.D. 400 by Augustine (*Contra Cresconium* 1:31:36).

[9] We know from Josephus that both the Samaritans and the Essenes were excluded from the Temple during its latter years (*Antiquities* 18:1:5, or 18:19; 18:2:2, or 18:29f.), but he does not say anything about Christians.

[10] *op. cit.* in note 4.

[11] Jeremias argues that a Jewish-Christian Passover haggadah, which does just this, is quoted in 1 Cor. 5:7f. (*op. cit.*, p. 59f.).

commemoration of Christ's resurrection. As was argued in the previous chapter (pp. 37-38), the festival of the Lord's Day probably originated among the early Jewish Christians of Palestine. One would expect them, therefore, to have extended the festal use of wine to the Lord's Day, and, if they celebrated the sacrament on the Sabbath, to have celebrated it on the Lord's Day also, or to have transferred it from the former to the latter. It is significant that the Ebionites, who observed both Sabbaths and Sundays, performed on Sundays similar rites to other Christians, which must certainly mean that they celebrated the Lord's Supper then. And if the Ebionites did this, presumably the Jewish Christians did it before them. Apart from its original setting, in the Passover meal, no setting would have been so suitable for the celebration of Christ's ordinance as the communal meal on the great *Christian* festival of the Lord's Day.

The communal meal on the Lord's Day in which the eucharist was celebrated became known, very early on, as the agape or love-feast. The agape is mentioned by name in the letters of 2 Peter and Jude (2 Pet. 2:13; Jude 12), and the Didache, which comes from Palestine or Syria around the end of the first century, shows the Lord's Supper still combined with it (Did. 9f.). When the Jewish Christians ceased eating together daily, there is no reason to doubt that they continued doing so on Sunday; and by this time the agape on Sundays had become an international Christian custom, being provided by the wealthier Christians for the benefit of the poorer, much as it was in Jerusalem (1 Cor. 11:20-22, 33f; cp. Acts 2:44-46; 6:1f.), perhaps on the Christian principle that the Sabbath, and therefore the Lord's Day, was a great day for works of mercy (see pp. 46-47). The agape might be the only good meal which the poorer Christians got in the week, and therefore could not be celebrated less often than every Sunday; and the link between the agape and the Lord's Supper, the former being the setting for the latter, must have helped to ensure that the Lord's Supper was celebrated every Sunday too (Acts 20:7; Didache 14). Indeed, among Gentile Christians, who had been exempted by the Jerusalem council and the teaching of St. Paul from observing Jewish Sabbaths and festivals (Acts 15:28f; Gal. 4:9-11; Col. 2:16f.), the Lord's Day, and the agape on the Lord's Day, was probably the only obvious opportunity for the sacrament to be held.

It should not be thought that the Sunday agape originated simply as an extension of the daily common meals of the Jerusalem church, though these were doubtless a factor. Since the Sunday agape incorporated the celebration of the Lord's Supper, it had equally strong links with the Passover meal, which was the original setting of the Lord's Supper; and this helped to ensure that it survived when daily common meals were discontinued, and established itself in churches where daily common meals had never been the practice, such as the Gentile churches. There, the Sunday agape, replacing

the Passover meal as a sort of New Testament equivalent, suitable to Gentiles as well as to Jews, and to any season of the year, not just the Passover season, was the one appropriate occasion for celebrating the Lord's Supper.

Among Jewish Christians, on the other hand, while the Temple was still standing, the Lord's Supper must have been observed more frequently than just on Sundays, as among the Gentiles. We have already seen that it would have been celebrated in the course of the Passover meal. Quite possibly also, when they offered the festal peace-offering at Pentecost and Tabernacles, which according to the Mishnah every male Jew was expected to do (Hagigah 1-2), and feasted with others upon that sacrifice, they again celebrated the sacrament during the meal. If they did, the weeks of Passover, Pentecost and Tabernacles must have been kept in truly festal style, with two communal meals and two celebrations of the sacrament. For a time at least, there may also have been a communal meal and a celebration of the sacrament each week on the Sabbath, in addition to the similar observance on the Lord's Day.

When, however, the Temple was destroyed in A.D. 70 (or the Jewish Christians were excluded from the Temple, if they were, at some earlier date), how would this have affected their practice? There are three possibilities:

(I) They may have continued to observe Passover, Pentecost and Tabernacles (or Passover at least) as before, simply substituting an ordinary agape for the feast upon the sacrifice, and celebrating the Lord's Supper in this context.[12]

(II) They may have abandoned the communal meal as a setting for the sacrament, and observed the Jewish feast-days by simply celebrating the Lord's Supper then.

(III) They may have abandoned the observance of the Jewish feast-days altogether, contenting themselves (like Gentile Christians) with their Sunday observance.

The evidence of the Didache that in Palestine or Syria the sacrament was still combined with an agape tells somewhat against the second of these possibilities, but for definite evidence we have to wait about a hundred and twenty years. Then, at the time of the Quartodeciman Controversy (c. A.D. 190), we find that the church of Palestine had adopted the third of the three courses. For Eusebius quotes a synodal letter from the church of Palestine

[12] The course which the non-Christian Jews took at the destruction of the Temple was something like this first possibility. While abandoning the meal at Pentecost and Tabernacles, they continued the Passover meal, substituting an ordinary lamb for the sacrificed lamb, but interpreting the meal in the old commemorative way.

and Phoenicia, indicating that it agreed with the rest of Christendom about the date of Easter, and referring to the Quartodecimans as "those who lightly deceive their own souls" (*Ecclesiastical History* 5:23:3f; 5:25:1). This strong language shows that the Palestinian church had not for a long time observed the Jewish date, and though there was now a much larger Gentile element in the Palestinian church than formerly (the four signatories mentioned by Eusebius all have Greek or Roman names), Palestine was still the country with the greatest concentration of Jews and the part of Christendom most likely to maintain old Jewish-Christian customs. Whether the Palestinian church, when she first ceased to observe Passover and Pentecost, distinguished the Sundays following them in any way, thus giving rise to the corresponding Christian festivals, is a question which will be discussed towards the end of our study (pp. 62-67). We shall there find reason for thinking that this was in fact a later development, which occurred in Palestine under outside influence only.

Quartodecimanism and the Apostles

If, however, as is widely held, the observance of Easter and Whitsun originated from the actual events of Christ's death and resurrection, and the coming of the Holy Spirit, in the Jewish Christianity of the earliest period, it was not the practice of the Palestinian church after the destruction of the Temple that set the pattern for Christendom so much as the practice of the Palestinian church several decades earlier, when Jerusalem and Antioch still formed the home-base for Christian missions. Had Easter and Whitsun been carried from there by the earliest missionaries to the churches they planted, it would not be surprising to see those festivals observed in many such churches on the Jewish dates. Paul, the apostle of the Gentiles, with his Pharisaic training, might be expected to have established in all his churches the observance of Easter on Nisan 14 and of Whitsun on Siwan 6. The province of Asia, the subsequent home of Quartodecimanism, was an area extensively evangelised by Paul, so would probably have owed its practice to his teaching.

However, one does not need to pursue this line of thinking very far before realising that it raises all sorts of problems:

(a) Is it likely that Paul, who wrote so emphatically to the Galatians and Colossians, impressing upon them the purely optional character of Jewish feast-days (Gal. 4:9-11; Col. 2:16f.), was himself the origin of Quartodeciman practice? One should bear in mind that Colossae was actually in the province of Asia, and that Galatia bordered upon it.

(b) If Paul and the other apostles taught their converts to observe Easter and Whitsun, and to follow Jewish dates for them, why did Quartodecimanism find no support in the Pauline churches elsewhere in Asia Minor and in Greece, or in the other churches dating from the apostolic period? It should be remembered that the province of Asia was not an area characterised by Semitic language or traditions, like Palestine or Syria, and so would not be specially apt to preserve the Jewish dates. Yet the only observance of Nisan 14 outside Asia that can be traced is in the Judaizing heresy of Ebionism and in two small schisms—that of Blastus in Rome[13] and that of Audius in and around Mesopotamia,[14] in both of which places the churches as a whole declared themselves against Quartodecimanism.[15] Lohse attempts to show that Quartodecimanism was much more widespread, but only by confusing the Quartodeciman Controversy with the quite distinct controversy which was resolved at the Council of Nicaea.[16]

(c) Why was there no controversy about the Quartodeciman observance of Whitsun on a weekday? Or, if the Quartodecimans did not observe it on a weekday, or not at all, why not?

(d) Why is the evidence for the existence of Whitsun later than the evidence for the existence of Easter? It is clear from the material presented by Eusebius that by the time of the Quartodeciman Controversy Easter was already well-established throughout the Christian church, and had been observed long enough to be widely regarded as of apostolic institution. With the help of the letters of Irenaeus and Polycrates, dating from about A.D. 190, which he preserves, it can be traced back to the time of Anicetus and Polycarp (c. A.D. 155) and probably to the time of Polycrates's birth, about A.D. 125 (*Eccles. Hist.* 4:24:1-8). The apparent reference to Easter in Epistle of the Apostles 15 may also date from about the year 125. Easter cannot, indeed, be traced back to Rev. 1:10, for it is certain from the agreed usage of several Christian writers between the late first and mid-second century that "the Lord's Day" in Rev. 1:10 means Sunday, not Easter.[17] But the observance of Whitsun still starts much later than that of Easter. It first appears in Irenaeus, Tertullian and

[13] See Eusebius, *Eccles. Hist.* 5:15:1; 5:20:1; pseudo-Tertullian, *Against All Heresies* 8.

[14] See Epiphanius, *Panarion* 3:1:70:9-13. The Audian schism is peculiar in belonging to the fourth century, not the second. The Audians based their practice on a pseudo-apostolic writing which, according to Epiphanius, they misunderstood. Since this writing was apparently the Syrian Didascalia, he is correct in thinking so.

[15] See Eusebius, *Eccles. Hist.* 5:23:3f.

[16] *op. cit.* in note 3, pp. 16-18, 61. On the Nicene Easter controversy, see below (pp. 64-65).

[17] Didache 14; Ignatius, *Magnesians* 9; Gospel of Peter 9.

others as the observance of the whole fifty days after Easter, and Whitsun as a particular day is not found until the very end of the second century and early in the third, in two writings of Tertullian's (*De Baptismo* 19; *De Corona* 3).[18]

(e) Why is the evidence for Easter itself not earlier? If it had been observed on Sunday, Easter Sunday might not have been separately mentioned at first, but since *ex hypothesi* it was originally observed on Nisan 14, the day of the Passover, one would expect it to have left earlier traces.

It would be possible to meet three of these objections, (a), (b) and (e), by supposing that Quartodeciman practice was introduced into the province of Asia not by Paul but by John, who had been one of the pillars of the Jerusalem church (Acts 4:13, 19; 8:14; Gal. 2:9), and who, outside Palestine, is only known to have laboured around Ephesus, in the province of Asia. It was at Ephesus, according to an early tradition recorded by Irenaeus, Polycrates and others, that he died. On this hypothesis, therefore, Quartodecimanism would have owed nothing to Paul; it would have been confined, at the outset, to Asia; and evidence of the Asian Easter would not be late, since Melito,[19] Claudius Apollinaris[20] and Polycrates, who write of it, are three of the earliest known writers from the area. However, the remaining two objections, (c) and (d), are equally valid against this hypothesis, and it open to certain others:

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[18] These works probably date from about the years 198-200 and 211 respectively. Lohse (*op. cit.*, p. 99) freely admits that Whitsun is not of apostolic origin, but fails to see the difficulty this involves for his theory that the Quartodeciman Easter is. The festal celebration of the fifty days after Easter by Christians was in commemoration of Christ's resurrection appearances, his ascension and the coming of the Spirit (see Tertullian *De Baptismo* 19; Origen, *Contra Celsum* 8:22)—the Jews did not keep this period festally. Because of the late appearance of Whitsun, it would be inappropriate to connect the choice of Sunday as the day for the festival with the Sadducean or Essene dating of Pentecost. In any case, the prevailing Jewish calendar, even before the destruction of the Temple according to Josephus and the Mishnah, and certainly after the destruction of the Temple, was not the Sadducean or the Essene but the Pharisaic, in which Pentecost might fall on any day of the week. The real reason why a Sunday was chosen for Whitsun is doubtless the same as in the case of Easter, namely, because Sunday was the regular Christian holy day, though in this case without the added reason that both were commemorations of the Resurrection.

[19] See Eusebius, *Eccles. Hist.* 4:26:2-4. Cf. also Melito, *Homily on the Passion* 1, 11. It seems from Eusebius's statements and quotation that Melito was prompted to write by an internal Asian dispute, which anticipated the main Quartodeciman Controversy by twenty to thirty years.

[20] The fragments of the work on Easter by Claudius Apollinaris, preserved in the preface to the Chronicon Paschale, have been much discussed. His emphasis on Nisan 14 indicates that he is not opposing Quartodecimanism, but his denial that it is the day of the Last Supper, as some "through ignorance" contend, rather than the day of the Passion, may have been the occasion of the dispute mentioned in the previous note, which was centred at Laodicea, close by Apollinaris's see of Hierapolis. In Lohse's view (*op. cit.*, p. 136f.), this was a novel opinion, drawn from outside Asia, and resisted by Apollinaris's contemporary Melito.

(f) The Judaizers seem regularly to have regarded James or Peter as their patron, rather than John (1 Cor. 1:12; Gal. 2:12-14; pseudo-Clementine literature, *passim*). This suggests that John would have been unlikely to introduce Jewish feast-days in churches where Paul had not introduced them, especially as the Jerusalem council had not required Gentiles to observe them, and as the church of Palestine itself may have given them up by the time of John's ministry in Asia, after the destruction of the Temple.

(g) On this hypothesis, Easter and Whitsun would originally have been observed in the province of Asia alone, and would have spread to the rest of the Christian world from there during the second century (being conformed, in the process, to the churches' existing observance of Sundays). But, even assuming that the province of Asia had then such influence, what was it freed the other churches so rapidly from this influence, and made them so unconscious of their debt, that they could set themselves in opposition to the Quartodecimans before the end of the century?

Which Easter Came First, Catholic or Quartodeciman?

It is, in fact, much less open to objection to suppose that the apostles, in the missionary churches where they ministered, instituted Easter on Sunday, than to suppose that they instituted it on Nisan 14. The observance of Sundays in the apostolic period is clear (Acts 20:7; 1 Cor. 16:2; Rev. 1:10), and since Paul had not ceased to be a Jew, and was conscious of the date, according to the Jewish calendar, even in his foreign missionary travels (Acts 20:6, 16; 27:9; 1 Cor. 16:8), "the days of Unleavened Bread" being specifically mentioned, it is not inconceivable that he may have pointed out to his converts the Sunday which fell during the days of Unleavened Bread, close to the time of Christ's death and resurrection. This Sunday may, as a result, have come to be specially marked. If so, it would of course have been a Christian feast-day, not a Jewish. Paul would not, on the other hand, have been so likely to point out to his converts the Sunday after Pentecost, since Pentecost did not have an octave in the Jewish calendar, as the Passover did. From this slender beginning the observance of the Catholic Easter could arguably have sprung, without involving the observance of Whitsun as well. The fact that Easter is not earlier attested than it is could be due to its falling on Sunday, which *is* attested. Then, when Easter Sunday had grown in importance, the Christians of Asia may have decided to make the commemoration of Christ's death and resurrection more exact by moving it to the very day of the Jewish Passover. They would not have done this under

Jewish influence, for, though this existed in their province, it was by no means as strong as in Palestine or Syria, and the estrangement between Church and Synagogue was very marked (Rev. 2:9; 3:9; Martyrdom of Polycarp 13, 17f.). Nor could Jewish Christians, whom Paul permitted to observe Jewish festivals privately (Rom. 14:5f.), have taken over the churches of Asia, where they would not have been sufficiently numerous. Rather, the change would have been made at the prompting of important Gentile Christian leaders like Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, the earliest Quartodeciman to whom we can put a name,[21] whose purpose would have been edification, not obedience to the Jewish Law.

Yet even this reconstruction is open to one serious objection. If Easter Sunday was of apostolic origin, the fact can hardly have been unknown to Polycarp, who had been brought up as a Christian, and whose long life began about A.D. 69 (Martyrdom of Polycarp 9). Irenaeus (quoted in Eusebius, *Eccles. Hist.* 5:20:4-8) had heard him say that he had met St. John. This would readily explain why the Quartodecimans supposed that Polycarp's Quartodeciman practice went back to the apostles, but it would not explain why Polycarp himself thought that considerations of edification required him to alter practice which was already edifying and which he knew to be apostolic. It is much more likely that he knew Easter to be a recent, post-apostolic development, and therefore deemed it open to whatever change he judged suitable.[22]

When did Easter and Whitsun Arise?

It follows, therefore, that Easter (as distinguished from the temporary Jewish-Christian observance of the Passover) is a post-apostolic institution. Its original form cannot have been the Quartodeciman (i.e. Asian), for in the post-apostolic period objection (g) applies with even greater force; and Asia, as we have seen, was not an area where Easter could have arisen out of Jewish influence. Rather, the original form of Easter was the Sunday form

[21] See Irenaeus's letter in Eusebius, *Eccles. Hist.* 5:24:16f. That Polycarp was of Gentile birth is suggested by his name. Moreover, his freedom from Judaizing sympathies is shown by the admiration his *Epistle* expresses for Paul (sections 3, 9, 11) and by its constant quotations from Paul's writings.

[22] It is a pity that all these objections to the apostolic origin of Easter are not addressed in T. J. Talley's recent book *The Origins of the Liturgical Year* (New York: Pueblo, 1986). He assumes that the Passover was maintained by Jewish Christians at Jerusalem in the form of the Quartodeciman Easter, and was carried to Asia by refugees at the time of the suppression of the Jewish revolts (pp. 5-7). This is a form of the Johannine hypothesis, and is open to objections (c), (d), (f) and (g) above.Talley also arbitrarily supposes (p 8f) that the Quartodecimans did not really observe Nisan 14 but April 6th—a solar rather than a lunar date, widely diverging from the Jewish reckoning.

(i.e. the non-Asian); and, this being so, it ceases to cause surprise that observance on Sunday was so much more widespread than the Asian observance on Nisan 14. The absence of evidence for Easter before the second century is due to the simple fact that it did not exist much, if at all, before the second century (it originated, perhaps, about A.D. 110, so as to reach the province of Asia by about A.D. 125); and the relative lateness of the evidence for Whitsun is due to the equally simple fact that Easter came into existence first and Whitsun afterwards. The way that Easter came into existence is probably as follows: the church had from the beginning observed Sundays, as festivals commemorating Christ's resurrection on a Sunday,[23] and in course of time special emphasis was given to the Sunday following the Jewish Passover, that being the one nearest to the actual date of Christ's resurrection. Sunday was not a commemoration of the coming of the Spirit, so the special observance of the Sunday following the Jewish Pentecost emerged more slowly. Tertullian, as we have seen, is the first to mention it as a single day (the day concluding the seven-week period of rejoicing observed by Christians after Easter), and as he does this right at the end of the second century, it may have come into existence ten to fifteen years before, that is, between about A.D. 185 and 190.

Since Easter was from the outset on a Sunday, the Quartodeciman Easter arose out of the Catholic Easter, not the other way round; and it happened much in the manner indicated above. Thus, Christ's death was naturally commemorated at Easter, as well as his resurrection, because of the intimate relationship between the two events; and both were commemorated on the same day, the separate Good Friday being a fourth-century development;[24] so the Quartodecimans decided to make the commemoration of his death and resurrection more exact, by moving it to the very day of the Jewish Passover.

Where did Easter and Whitsun Arise?

Since Whitsun arose later than Easter, when the latter was already widespread, it may have arisen at quite a different place. Tertullian, who first mentions it, lived at Carthage in Latin-speaking North Africa, and as Carthage was an influential liturgical centre in the second and third centuries, this may be its place of origin. On the other hand, the North African liturgy was closely related to the Roman,[25] so Rome may be the source, but, in the absence of actual Roman evidence, this is less likely.

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[23] See Acts 20:7; 1 Cor. 16:2; Rev. 1:10; Didache 14; Ignatius, *Magnesians* 9; Epistle of Barnabas 15; Gospel of Peter 9, 12; Justin Martyr, *First Apology* 67.

[24] See A. A. McArthur, *The Evolution of the Christian Year*, pp. 98-113.

[25] See J. A. Jungmann, *The Early Liturgy* (E. T., London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1960), pp. 202, 233f.

To decide the place of origin for Easter, however, is not so simple, going back, as it does, to the early years of the second century. We have just seen (pp. 60-61) that Easter did not take its rise in the province of Asia. It must, indeed, have arisen at a centre influential enough to affect the whole Christian world, and it is probable that in the relevant period there were not more than five such centres—Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, Rome and Carthage.[26] Did Easter, then, originate at Jerusalem? Even after the destruction of the Temple in A.D. 70, when the Jewish Christians of Palestine had stopped observing Nisan 14, it is conceivable that they placed special emphasis on the Sunday following that date, and so gave rise to Easter. It is also conceivable that, though the "pillars" of the Jerusalem church were now dead or abroad, Jerusalem continued to be capable of influencing the whole Christian world until the expulsion of all Jews from Jerusalem in the year 135, following the second Jewish revolt, when the Jewish church there gave place to a Greek one. There is, however, one strong reason for thinking that Easter did not originate at Jerusalem. This is that, had it originated there, the Palestinian church would probably have sent out messengers each year to the churches which had learned it from her, telling them when the Sunday after the Passover would fall, just as Palestinian Jewry was doing for its own communities abroad with regard to the Passover itself. Astronomy being at that period in its infancy, among Jews no less than among Christians, the Jewish festivals were fixed by constant observation.[27] The beginning of each month was proclaimed when the new moon was sighted in Palestine, and the Mishnah relates how messengers went out from Palestine to Syria to announce that the new moon of Nisan, the month of the Passover and the first month of the year in the festal calendar, had been sighted (Rosh ha-Shanah 1:4). Similarly, when it was perceived that, at the end of the preceding month Adar, the corn-crops and fruit-trees would still be immature in Judaea, Transjordan and Galilee, and that the spring equinox would still be more than half a month away (two of the three signs and two of the three districts sufficing), messengers went out from Palestine to announce that the beginning of Nisan had been deferred, and that the thirteenth month Second Adar had been added to the old year. We learn this from the Tosephta, from ancient baraitas in the Babylonian Talmud and from the early midrash Mekilta (Tos. Sanhedrin

[26] See Jungmann, *op. cit.*, p. 201f.

[27] See B. Z. Wacholder and D. B. Weisberg, "Visibility of the New Moon in Cuneiform and Rabbinic Sources", in *Hebrew Union College Annual*, vol. 42 (1971), pp. 227-242. They argue that the standard nineteen-year cycle for adjusting the lunar to the solar year and calculating the dates of the festivals astronomically was not introduced among the rabbis until between the fourth and the seventh century A.D. This is somewhat later than among Christians. Earlier Jews did keep some record of new moons, apparently, but from this they could draw only limited conclusions.

2:2f., 7; Bab. Sanhedrin 11b; Mekilta, Pisha 2), and the first two of these sources also quote a letter from Rabban Gamaliel II (c. A.D. 80-120.) to the Jews of the Dispersion in Babylon, Media and elsewhere, stating that such a decision had been made, and that Nisan would not therefore begin for another thirty days (Tos. Sanhedrin 2:6; Bab. Sanhedrin 11b).[28] Since the solar year exceeds the length of twelve lunar months by nearly eleven days, Second Adar must have been added, on average, every two to three years.

Now, since the Passover fell as early in the year as Nisan 14, the Jews of the Dispersion were dependent on receiving the letters brought by the messengers from Palestine each year, so as to know when Nisan would begin and the feast should be observed. And if Easter, the Sunday after the Passover, had originated in Palestine, it would have been only natural for the Palestinian church to follow suit, and to send letters to the other churches, in order to let them know when Easter should be observed. The Palestinian church, living as she did in the country where the calendar was regulated, could even have made her own observations of the new moon, the corn, the fruit-trees and the equinox before adopting the decisions of Jewry about the commencement of Nisan and the addition of Second Adar, and she could certainly have communicated the dates she had accepted for herself to the other churches. She *could* have done this of her own initiative, but, supposing she had not, it is almost certain that she would have been asked to do it by the other churches. For, without such help, they were in the humiliating position of having to find out the date of the Passover each year from the non-Christian Jews of their locality, before they could fix Easter, which (after the final breach between Church and Synagogue in the course of the first century)[29] must have been a considerable embarrassment. Only in places like Palestine, where Jews were so numerous that the information was common knowledge, would this not have been the case. Constantine, writing about Easter to those absent from the Council of Nicaea, speaks of the Jews' "boast that it is not in our power without instruction from them to observe these things" (in Eusebius, *Life of Constantine* 3:18). This clearly reflects the embarrassment under which Christians had been labouring, and it is significant that they sought to deliver themselves from it not by applying to the church of Palestine for help, which they would surely have done if Easter

[28] Prior to the destruction of the Temple, when the sacrificial animals had to be old enough and the roads to Jerusalem passable for pilgrims, these factors also could influence the decision to extend the old year (Tos. Sanhedrin 2:5, 12; baraitas in Bab. Sanhedrin 11a). For fuller information, see pp. 286-287.

[29] The question of the date of the breach between Church and Synagogue has recently been re-opened, but a compelling case for continuing to date it in the first century has been presented by William Horbury ("The Benediction of the *Minim* and early Jewish-Christian Controversy", in *The Journal of Theological Studies*, NS, vol. 33, 1982, pp. 19-61).

had come to them from there, but by calculating the date of Easter astronomically.

The first Christian calculations were apparently those of the Roman writer Hippolytus, whose doubled eight-year cycle for reconciling the lunar and the solar year, published soon after the year 220, was inscribed in gratitude on his still-surviving seated statue before its three-day error had been discovered.[30] An unsuccessful attempt to correct the three-day error is made in pseudo-Cyprian, *De Pascha Computus,* a Latin treatise written in North Africa in the year 243. This work expresses the motive of such studies, namely to silence the humiliating boast of the Jews just quoted, when it says

> We desire to show to those who love and are eager for divine studies that Christians need at no time stray from the way of truth or *walk in blindness and stupidity behind the Jews as though they did not know what was the day of the Passover* (sect. 1).

An Easter Letter sent out by Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, in the year 251, was still based upon the eight-year cycle (see Eusebius, *Eccles. Hist.* 7:20:1), so the church of Alexandria was evidently not at that date the guide to the Christian Church on Easter calculations which she was becoming by the time of Leo the Great, two centuries later (see his *Epistle 121, to the Emperor Marcian,* sect. 1); but only a decade or two after Dionysius's letter she laid her first claim to this honour, when the more accurate nineteen-year cycle was championed by the Alexandrian scholar Anatolius (in Eusebius, *Eccles Hist.* 7:32:14).

The introduction of astronomical calculation brought about the Church's second Easter controversy, which turned on the question whether to adopt the new method of fixing Easter or to continue depending on the Jews. It is clear from Eusebius's contemporary *Life of Constantine* that it was this Easter controversy, primarily, to which the Council of Nicaea (A.D. 325) addressed itself. The Quartodeciman Controversy, about Sunday or weekday observance of the festival, may have lingered on, but there was now general agreement to observe Easter on Sunday, and, with the introduction of astronomical calculation (which did not happen until some thirty years after the Quartodeciman crisis), the centre of interest had moved. When the Quartodeciman Controversy was raging, both sides must have fixed Easter in

[30] The probability that the first Christian calculations were those of Hippolytus is not altered by the efforts of August Strobel, in his learned and comprehensive book *Ursprung und Geschichte des frühchristlichen Osterkalenders* (Texte und Untersuchungen 121, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1977), to show the contrary. His contention that the Roman 84-year cycle (though much later attested, much more elaborate and much more accurate) is in fact older than Hippolytus's doubled 8-year cycle, cannot be regarded as plausible; and his further claim that it goes back to the first beginnings of Christianity, and may have been taken over from the Jews, ignores the contemporary state of science in Jewish circles.

dependence on the Jews, but the situation was now different. Eusebius writes:

> For while one party asserted that the Jewish custom should be adhered to, the other affirmed that the exact recurrence of the period should be observed, without following the authority of those who were in error, and strangers to gospel grace (*Life of Constantine* 3:5).

The letter which the Council of Nicaea addressed to the church of Alexandria (in Theodoret, *Ecclesiastical History* 1:8; Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History* 1:9) and the letter which Constantine addressed to those absent from the Council (in Eusebius, *Life of Constantine* 3:17-20) both inform us that the decision of the Council was against following the Jews, and the former letter adds that this was the custom of "brethren in the East", whereas the opposite custom (astronomical calculation) was the one observed by Rome and Alexandria. Constantine's letter (ch. 19) names many additional churches that agreed with Rome and Alexandria, such as those of Asia and Greece, while Athanasius, another contemporary, identifies the brethren in the East who followed the Jews on the matter as the churches of Syria, Cilicia and Mesopotamia (*Ad Afros* 2).[31] There is further evidence here that the controversy in question was quite distinct from the Quartodeciman, for Athanasius does not include the churches of Asia among those who followed the Jews, while Constantine includes them among those who did not.

The decision of Nicaea was not immediately accepted everywhere, as is clear from the first canon of the Synod of Antioch (A.D. 341) and the seventh of the Apostolic Canons, concerning those who continue to observe Easter "with the Jews". Nevertheless, the issue was settled in principle. Even this left room enough for disagreement about the date, but the church's later Easter controversies, such as that in the seventh century over the Celtic Easter, and that extending from the sixteenth century to our own time over the Julian and Gregorian Calendars, have been concerned with the question what method of astronomical calculation to follow, not with the question whether to follow any such method at all.

We can now return to our query whether Easter originated at Jerusalem. We have seen that the other churches, in their embarrassment over dependence on the Jews for the date of Easter, did not look to the church of Palestine for help, as they would naturally have done if Easter had originated there, but sought another way out of their problem. Nor did the church of Palestine volunteer any help, as would again have been natural, considering

[31] Constantine lists Cilicia among the churches of the opposite party, so, unless the name has crept into his long catalogue by mistake, it appears that Cilicia was divided in its practice. Athanasius makes his statement in *De Synodis* 5 also.

what Palestinian Jewry was doing to guide other Jews. On the contrary, it is clear from Athanasius's statement about the churches which followed the Jews that the Palestinian church did not send messengers even to countries as near as Syria, Cilicia and Mesopotamia (to two of which countries Palestinian Jewry certainly did send messengers), but left them to depend upon the Jews. Indeed, we know from the synodal letter which the Palestinian and Phoenician church issued in the Quartodeciman Controversy that its sole contacts on this matter were with the church of Alexandria:

> However, we declare to you that they of Alexandria do also hold it on the same day as we do. For they receive letters from us, and we from them, to the end that we may keep the holy day in concord and at the one time (in Eusebius, *Eccles. Hist.* 5:25:1).

But if these were the sole contacts that the Palestinian church had on the matter, the place where Easter arose cannot have been Palestine. Hence, after the destruction of the Temple, when the Palestinian church had ceased to offer the Passover lamb with other Jews on Nisan 14, she did not at once attach special significance to the Sunday following, and so create Easter Sunday (as we conjectured might have been the case). Rather, the observance of Easter Sunday must have developed in Palestine at a later stage, under influence from some other region where it had developed first.

Such a conclusion may seem surprising. But it needs to be borne in mind that the observance of Passover and Pentecost by the Jewish Christians before the destruction of the Temple, though it had doubtless had Christian features, had been essentially an Old Testament observance, tied to Jerusalem and centred on animal sacrifice. To think of this as the primitive Christian Easter and Whitsun, from which Easter and Whitsun elsewhere must have sprung, is to forget the vast differences between the Jewish festivals and the Christian. Similarly, to suppose that after the destruction of the Temple the Jewish Christians would necessarily have continued to observe the dates of the Jewish festivals, or at least the Sunday following them, is to forget why they had observed those dates (in obedience to the Old Testament Law) and how they had observed them (by sacrificing animals). Now that, owing to the revolutionary and traumatic events through which they had passed, the literal observance of the Law had become impossible, it is not to be assumed that, like the non-Christian Jews, they would have tried to do the next best thing. It is equally possible that, released from this duty, they conformed to the practice of Gentile Christians and ceased to observe the two feasts altogether. In the case of Pentecost it is virtually certain that the latter course is the one they followed, for, as we have seen, Pentecost seems first to have become a Christian festival in the late second century, and in the West not the East; and this makes it easier to believe that they followed the same course in the case of the Passover. But, if that is so, the

observance of Easter Sunday in Palestine must have been a later development, and must have come about under influence from elsewhere.

From elsewhere, but from where precisely? Since the only contacts of the Palestinian and Phoenician church on the date of Easter were with the church of Alexandria, one could infer that Alexandria was the source. But at the period of the letter about these contacts (c. A.D. 190), when all churches still followed the local Jews, and astronomical calculation had not yet been introduced, there was no need for churches to consult together about the date of Easter, and no cause for them to anticipate danger of disagreement, unless one or other of them had special difficulties in obtaining from the Jews the necessary information. The fact that the Alexandrian and Palestinian churches did consult together, and did anticipate the possibility of disagreement without such consultation, cannot have been due to difficulties of this kind in Palestine, where there were more Jews than in any other country, where their decisions on matters like the calendar were published for the guidance of society, and where the church possessed the necessary facts to check the rightness of these decisions for herself. The difficulties must have been on the Alexandrian side. Now, the Jewish community in Alexandria had been decimated in the revolt of A.D. 115-117 and took a long time to revive, so it may well be that it was easier for the church of Alexandria to obtain the information it needed from the neighbouring Jews of Palestine, via the church of Palestine, than from the local Jewish community in Alexandria.[32] This does not mean that Alexandria derived Easter itself from Palestine: as a seaport with wide international contacts, it could have derived Easter from almost anywhere, and may only have turned to Palestine for help because it needed news of the commencement of Nisan as early as possible, and Palestine was the nearest and best place from which the news could be obtained. Certainly, Alexandria did not regard the information that Palestine supplied as all of a piece with the Easter festival itself, which it might have been expected to do if it had derived both from the same source: on the contrary, it is the first known city, after Rome and Carthage, to have gone over to astronomical calculation.

On the other hand, Alexandria cannot herself have created Easter. The festival can hardly have originated in, or spread far and wide from, a church which from a very early stage had to look to another church abroad for

[32] An alternative explanation might be that Alexandria could, if it wished, have got the information it needed from the local Jews, but preferred to get it from the Palestinian church, since the Palestinian church made its own observations and decisions, and frequently disagreed with Palestinian Jewry. Such an explanation, however, would be purely conjectural. If the Palestinian church had really been so independent, and had gained this sort of international reputation as the authority on the calendar, one would expect that other churches would have sought guidance from her, besides the Alexandrian, and one would not expect the Alexandrian church to have been so ready to forsake her guidance in favour of astronomical calculation.

guidance in fixing the date. Moreover, if it *had* spread from such a centre, one would expect that other churches, since they had derived the festival from Alexandria, would have followed Alexandria's example and consulted the church of Palestine about the date, in preference to depending on the local Jews.

Another possibility to be considered is that Easter, like Whitsun, arose first in Rome or Carthage. The problem in this case is that Easter must have arisen in the same place as the original method of dating Easter, which was dependence on the Jews. Now, dependence on the Jews, and on their date for the Passover, would be likely to originate in a place where the Jewish method of dating the Passover worked well. It cannot have worked well in Rome or Carthage and, though there were Jews in both places, it is no accident that it was in Rome and Latin-speaking North Africa that Christians first tried to substitute astronomical calculation for dependence on the Jews. The reason why the Jewish method of dating the Passover cannot have worked well there is that Rome and Carthage were both distant from Palestine and were approached from Palestine by sea in the face of the prevailing north-westerly winds. Since the Passover was only fourteen days after the beginning of Nisan, the first month of the Jewish festal year, the messengers announcing the new moon of Nisan would not have arrived until well after the Passover,[33] and though the approximate date of the new moon could in any other month be judged from the date of the previous new moon, twenty-nine or thirty days earlier, there was on this occasion in the year the further complication that the intercalary month of Second Adar, added about every two or three years, as a thirteenth month of the old year, might or might not have intervened. The decision to add this thirteenth month, as we know from the Mishnah and Tosephta, could be delayed until the very end of the twelfth month Adar (M. Megillah 1:4; M. Eduyoth 7:7; Tos. Sanhedrin 2:13),[34] so the news that it had been added would not necessarily arrive sooner than the news of the new moon of Nisan in other years. It is true that the decision to add Second Adar could validly be made any time in the last six months of the year (Tos. Sanhedrin 2:7; baraita in Bab. Rosh ha-Shanah 7a and Bab. Sanhedrin 12a), but the safe reason for sailing ended only ten

[33] A good voyage from Caesarea to Rhodes took ten days, and a stormy voyage from Sidon to the Chelidonian Isles (a fair way short of Rhodes) took nine and a half days. (For these figures, and for the prevailing winds, see Lionel Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World*, Princeton: The University Press, 1971, pp. 272, 289). From Caesarea to Rome or Carthage was in the same general direction as to Rhodes, but three times as far, and the journey would have had to be undertaken well before the best season for sailing had arrived (see note 35 below).

[34] One view was that the decision to add Second Adar might only be made up until Purim, half way through the twelfth month, but the prevailing view was that it might be made up until the very end of the month.

days into the second half of the year (Acts 27:9), and less than two months later sailing became impossible, remaining so until just before the beginning of Nisan.[35] Consequently, an earlier decision would not be likely to make much difference. These difficulties probably led the Jews of Rome and Carthage to celebrate the Passover at the approximate date when it would have fallen without the intercalary month, and then, if they subsequently learned that Second Adar had been added, to celebrate it again a month later. Such a practice would account for the charge made in Constantine's letter that the Jews sometimes celebrated the Passover twice within the same year (in Eusebius, *Life of Constantine* 3:18).[36] Now, to date Easter by the Jewish Passover, when the problems of the Jews in dating the Passover were so great, is a method which the Christians of Rome or Carthage would only have adopted with reluctance. It would have been much more straightforward for them, had they invented the festival of Easter, to celebrate it on the Sunday after the date in the Julian Calendar which the West traditionally regarded as the date of the crucifixion, March 25th (see Tertullian, *Against the Jews* 8; Hippolytus, *Easter Table; Commentary on Daniel* 4:23). Only if the festival, and the method of fixing it, had come to the Roman and Carthaginian churches from elsewhere, would they have been likely to involve themselves in the problems of the Roman and Carthaginian Jews.[37]

We have now considered each of the church's five early liturgical centres, except one, as the possible birthplace of Easter, and by a process of

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[35] This is clear from the fourth-century Roman writer Vegetius, who says that the period from May 27th to September 14th is reckoned the safe season for sailing, that from September 14th to November 11th (and again evidently from March 10th to May 27th) navigation is uncertain, and that from November 11th to March 10th the seas are closed (*Epitoma Rei Militaris* 4:39). A similar reckoning of the safe season for sailing is found in the Palestinian Talmud (Jer. Shabbath 2:6). The reason for the closed season was not only storms but poor visibility, for, before the invention of the compass, sailors could only steer if they could see the stars, the coasts and the rocks.

[36] He has sometimes been taken to mean twice between two spring equinoxes, alluding to the fact that the Jews of the period sometimes celebrated the Passover before the equinox, rather than after it (Apostolic Canon 7; cp. also Anatolius, in Eusebius, *Eccles. Hist.* 7:32:15-19). This was because the lateness of the equinox was only one of the three signs governing Jewish intercalation, and two of the three signs had to be present for intercalation to take place (see pp. 62-63). A non-Jewish new year around the time of the equinox then existed, at least in Syria (see Apostolic Constitutions 5:13), but the Julian year of the Roman Empire began on January 1st, so Constantine more probably means twice in the same Julian year (i.e. the same Passover, mistakenly in March, then correctly in April) or twice in the same Jewish year (i.e. two Passovers, the first correctly in Nisan, the second mistakenly in Second Adar).

[37] This conclusion would be greatly strengthened if a modern interpretation of Irenaeus's letter about Easter (in Eusebius. *Eccles. Hist* 5:24:11-18) were credible, according to which it does not mean that the bishops of Rome had been unaccustomed to observe Nisan 14, but that they had been unaccustomed (until Soter, who became bishop between the years 166 and 169) to observe Easter at all. See Marcel Richard, "La question pascale au IIe Siècle", in *L'Orient Syrien*, vol. 6 (1961), pp. 179-212.

elimination we are brought to Antioch. Jerusalem, Alexandria, Rome and Carthage have been ruled out. Is Antioch, then, the right answer? There are two positive reasons for thinking that it is. Thus,

(i) A custom usually dies hardest in the place of its origin. All Christendom originally depended on the Jews for the date of Easter, but by the time of the Council of Nicaea only the three countries named by Athanasius did this—Syria, Cilicia and Mesopotamia. Now, apart from Jerusalem, the only great centre of influence in any of these three neighbouring countries at the time when Easter took its rise was Antioch.[38] But if the original method of dating Easter came from Antioch, Easter must itself have come from Antioch.

(ii) Dependence on the Jews for the date of Easter would be likely to originate in a place where this was least embarrassing, in other words, where Jews were extremely numerous and the date fixed for the Passover was common knowledge. There was a great concentration of Jews at Alexandria, but only until their revolt of A.D. 115-117, when Easter was still a tender growth, and had yet to spread widely. There was also a great concentration in Babylon and Mesopotamia, but the Christian centre on which these areas depended at the time was Antioch. The greatest concentration of all, outside Palestine itself, was in Syria, because of its proximity to Palestine (see Josephus, *War* 7:3:3, or 7:43). And the capital of Syria was Antioch.

[38] Athanasius probably includes Palestine in "Syria", as he does elsewhere (*Apology Against the Arians* 57; *Festal Letters* 12:1). In that case Jerusalem comes in the area specified. There is no reason why Athanasius should have distinguished between the voluntary dependence of Palestine on the Jews and the involuntary dependence of the rest of the area.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE DATE OF CHRISTMAS AND THE COURSES OF THE PRIESTS

1. The Date of Christmas

As is well known, the festivals of Christmas and Epiphany are not attested in surviving literature before the fourth century. When they first appear, the feast on December 25th appears in the West and that on January 6th in the East, and the latter seems to be the Eastern Christmas. Then both parts of the Church begin to observe both dates, and to give them their present distinct meanings.[1]

Various opinions have been held about the way these dates were chosen. Occasionally it is suggested that December 25th is an adaptation of a Jewish festival, but the fourth century is too late for Jewish influence to be at all probable. In any case, the Jewish festival in question, the Rededication of the Temple by Judas Maccabaeus (Hanukkah), has quite a different meaning, lasts for eight days, and, though it begins on the 25th day of Chislev, Chislev is a lunar month corresponding only roughly to November or December.

The explanation most widespread today is quite different, namely, that December 25th and January 6th are derived from pagan sun-festivals. December 25th is a well known date for the winter solstice, and, although sun-worship was not originally part of Roman religion, by the third century it had become such, and a festival for the worship of the sun was established on December 25th by the emperor Aurelian in A.D. 274. January 6th, however, is only a very hypothetical day for the winter solstice, and no pagan festival on that day is recorded, except a festival of the goddess Core (Persephone) held at Alexandria, to celebrate her annual return from Hades; so the explanation is incomplete. One of the Greek festivals of Dionysus was in January (Lenaea, the "festival of the raving women"), but it was later in the month, and an orgy of this kind would be more likely to have given rise to a Christian fast than a Christian feast. The Western Church may perhaps

[1] See, for example, A. A. McArthur, *The Evolution of the Christian Year (ut supra)*, part 2; T. J. Talley, *The Origins of the Liturgical Year (ut supra)*, part 2. The fullest modern account is in Bernard Botte, *Les Origines de la Noël et de l'Epiphanie*, and Justin Mossay, *Les Fêtes de Noël et d'Epiphanie d'après les sources littéraires Cappadociennes du IV^e siècle* (Louvain: Abbaye du Mont César, 1932 and 1965). Oscar Cullmann's essay "The Origin of Christmas" (in *The Early Church*, E.T., London: SCM, 1956) falls short of his usual standard of accuracy.

have reinterpreted the festival on December 25th as referring to Christ, the Sun of righteousness, so as to give the pagan observance an edifying new meaning; but what about the Eastern Church and January 6th?

A third explanation of the choice of December 25th was given as long ago as the late fourth century by Chrysostom, when justifying his adoption of the western date, in his famous sermon *In Diem Natalem.*[2] His argument (if stated with a little more precision than he thinks necessary himself) is as follows. He assumes that Zacharias, the father of John the Baptist, was high priest (a belief going back to the second-century Protevangelium of James), and that his offering of incense in Luke 1:8-11 was the offering of incense made by the high priest on the Day of Atonement. The Day of Atonement is Tishri 10, and if one allows a few days for Zacharias to complete his ministrations and return home (Luke 1:23), and for his wife to conceive a son, this brings one to Tishri 14; and Tishri 14 (except in leap years) is six months before the day of the Passover, which is Nisan 14. But according to Luke 1:24-26, 36, these six months bring one to the annunciation. The annunciation, therefore, took place at the Passover full moon, which Chrysostom very likely supposes to have fallen on March 25th in the year in question. All he has then to do is to add the nine months of Mary's pregnancy before the nativity.

The loose logic of this argument strongly suggests that what we have here is not the reason why December 25th was originally chosen, but a retrospective justification of the choice after it had been made. At the same time, it reflects a concern to have a Christian reason for the date of the festival, and not simply a pagan or secular one, and since the Christian festival only arose earlier in the same century that Chrysostom wrote, it makes one wonder whether those responsible for instituting it had some additional reason influencing them (perhaps a traditional date) beyond the desire to Christianize a pagan observance, or to align Christ's birth with the winter solstice.

This doubt is accentuated by the difficulty of explaining the original eastern date of January 6th. Since January 6th can hardly have been the Christianization of a pagan festival, and was not a turning point in the astronomical year, it prompts a question whether the corresponding western date can have been merely that and no more. After all, December 25th as a date for Christ's nativity is quite possibly older than the Christian or even the pagan festival on that date, since it occurs in Hippolytus's *Commentary on Daniel* 4:23. The text of this passage is somewhat uncertain, it is true, and may be due to an early redactor rather than to Hippolytus himself. The other

[2] The explanation is also found in the treatise *De Solstitiis et Aequinoctiis*, included in collections of Chrysostom's works and printed by Botte as an appendix to his book.

date for Christ's nativity, however, can be traced back with greater certainty behind Hippolytus, to Clement of Alexandria, who before the year 200 dates Christ's nativity on January 6th. This is over a century before any festival of the nativity on January 6th is recorded. Could Clement's dating, then, be due to a historical tradition that the nativity took place at that time?

Clement's evidence (to be found in his *Stromata*, or Miscellanies, 1:21:140, 144-46) is not without ambiguity, since he quotes a number of opinions about the dates of Christ's birth and crucifixion, commending, perhaps ironically, the precision of those who propound them. He gives these opinions in Egyptian months: for the crucifixion Phamenoth 25, Pharmuthi 25 and Pharmuthi 19 (corresponding, in the Julian calendar, to March 21st, April 20th, April 14th) and for the nativity Pachon 25, Pharmuthi 24 and Pharmuthi 25 (corresponding, in the Julian calendar, to May 20th, April 19th, April 20th). By what method these dates were arrived at we do not know, but all of them except May 20th could be dates for the Passover, and March 21st is a date for the spring equinox. However, although Clement records these datings, in his own reckoning he follows none of them. He is presenting, at this point in his book, a chronology of world history, and he tells us that the period from the nativity to the death of the emperor Commodus was 194 years, 1 month, 13 days. Commodus had only recently died when Clement wrote, and we know that his death took place on December 31st. Hence, Clement's date for the nativity appears to be November 17th or 18th. However, as R. H. Bainton points out, following Henry Browne, if the period to the death of Commodus is reckoned by the old (uncorrected) Egyptian solar year of 365 days exactly, as is quite possible, since the old reckoning was slow to yield ground, we should reduce it by 48½ days to change it into true Julian years, and that moves the nativity from November 17th or 18th to January 5th or (more significantly) to the traditional eastern date of January 6th.[3]

That Browne and Bainton are right is in measure confirmed by Clement's date for the crucifixion. From the crucifixion to the destruction of Jerusalem, he says, was 42 years, 3 months; from the destruction of Jerusalem to the death of Commodus was 121 years, 6 months, 24 days (he gives the latter part of this calculation twice, differently, but his other figures are impossible, and must be corrupt, despite Bainton's confused attempt to make sense of them as they stand). The total period of 163 years, 9 months, 24 days, taken

[3] Henry Browne, "S. Clemens Alex. on New Testament Chronology", in *The Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology*, vol. 1 (1854), pp. 327-336; R. H. Bainton, "Basilidian Chronology and New Testament Interpretation", in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, vol. 42 (1923), pp. 81-133. As Commodus died in A.D. 192, Clement's year for the nativity is 2 B.C. One may add that his year for the crucifixion is A.D. 29, and for the destruction of Jerusalem A.D. 71 (on July 6th or 7th of that year).

at its face value, dates the crucifixion (carried out at the Passover season) on March 7th or 8th, which would be early for the Passover to fall, but if these are years of 365 days exactly, the date is moved to April 17th or 18th, a very normal time for the festival.

Browne's and Bainton's articles ought to be much more widely read than they are, for there is still today a strong tendency to assume that a midwinter date for the nativity is not even one of the earliest surviving traditions, and that this date must be due either to the Christianization of a pagan festival at that time of year, or to the contemporary speculation about the "appropriate" length for Christ's life and its "necessary" alignment with the seasons. If, however, the traditional eastern date of January 6th was known in the church of Alexandria in the last decade of the second century, it is as old as any of these speculations, and older than any evidence linking the nativity with the pagan festival on the winter solstice. Moreover, if it was known in Alexandria in the last decade of the second century, it was probably also known there half a century earlier. For in the same passage of Clement, after speaking of dates for the Lord's birth, he says,

> And the followers of Basilides hold the day of his baptism as a festival, spending the night before it in readings. And they say that it was the 15th year of Tiberius Caesar, the 15th day of the month Tybi; and some that it was the 11th of the same month.

Basilides likewise belonged to Alexandria, where he taught in the second quarter of the second century, and, though he was a heretic, he would have known the traditions of the Alexandrian church. Tybi 15 and Tybi 11 correspond, in the Julian calendar, to January 10th and January 6th. Basilides's reference to the 15th year of Tiberius Caesar is clearly drawn from Luke 3:1, where it introduces the account of Jesus's baptism, when he was "about 30 years of age" (verse 23). In the East, January 6th has always been the festival of Christ's baptism as well as his birth; indeed, since the late fourth century, when the Eastern Church adopted the date December 25th for his birth, his baptism has been the main event commemorated on January 6th; but earlier in the fourth century it commemorated his birth as well. The explanation probably lies in Luke 3, which tells us that Jesus was "about 30 years of age" when he was baptized, since this could imply that his birth and his baptism took place at about the same date. So the choice of the date January 6th for his baptism may mean that this was already thought of as the date of his birth, while Basilides's alternative date for the baptism, January 10th, would be due to Luke's approximate expression "about" (ὡσεί). The orthodox were slower to institute a festival commemorating Christ's baptism than the adoptionist followers of Basilides, but when they did so they would have instituted it on the traditional date, and they

instituted it on January 6th, the same day as they commemorated Christ's birth.

It is also clear from the same passage of Clement that, like his western contemporary Tertullian (*Against the Jews* 8), he inferred from Lk. 3:23 that Jesus was only thirty when he died, confining his ministry within a single year. The early third-century western writer Hippolytus was even more schematic in his approach, and at first held that Jesus lived a bare thirty years and was born as well as died at the Passover. This is a specimen of the other possible origin for the date of Christmas, advocated by some: a love of round figures, and a desire to align Christ's life with the seasons of the year. Even if Hippolytus afterwards adopted the date December 25th, he originally dated the *genesis Christou* on April 2nd. This is the date for the event in the *Easter Table* inscribed on his famous chair, where the crucifixion is dated on March 25th, as by Tertullian, and by Hippolytus elsewhere (*Commentary on Daniel* 4:23). In Hippolytus's *Liber Generationis ab Adam* the "generation" of Christ is placed at the Passover, thirty years before the Passover of the crucifixion; and in Hippolytus's sixteen-year paschal cycle, April 2nd and March 25th are among the eight possible dates for the Passover, and a Passover on April 2nd will be followed, thirty years later, by one on March 25th.[4]

Hippolytus, however, does not provide the earliest western evidence: the earliest is for a midwinter date. Tertullian (*Against the Jews* 8) calculates that the period from the birth of Christ to the destruction of Jerusalem was 52 years, 6 months. His number of years is much too small, because he overlooks the reign of Claudius, but the significant element is the 6 months, since he can hardly have been unaware that the Jews commemorated the destruction of Jerusalem in midsummer: this was on Ab 9, one of their greatest fast days (a date which to Clement of Alexandria means July 6th or 7th). But in that case he thought of the birth of Christ as having occurred in midwinter, and perhaps on a particular date in midwinter, such as January 6th.

Tertullian's knowledge of January 6th as the date of Christ's birth is confirmed by his apparent knowledge of it as the date of Christ's baptism, for we have seen that anciently the date commemorated both events. As Bainton points out, the strange passage in Tertullian *Against Marcion* 1:19 which measures the period from the coming of Christ, in the time of

[4] For Hippolytus's *Easter Table*, see E. Schwartz, *Christliche und jüdische Ostertafeln*, part 2, in *Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, philologisch-historische Klasse, new series, vol. 8 (1904-05). The suggestion that by *genesis Christou* Hippolytus means the conception not the nativity of Christ would be contrary to usage, and would make Christ only 29¼ when he died and still younger when he began his ministry. The interpretation of spring dates for Christ's nativity as dates for his conception was an afterthought, and seems to have originated as a fourth-century exercise in harmonization.

Tiberius, to the coming of Marcion, in the time of Antoninus Pius, as about 115 years, 6½ months, is thinking of the coming of Christ in Marcionite fashion as occurring soon after the time of his baptism. This is shown both by the parallel passage at the beginning of book 4, chapter 7, of the same work, and by the reference to Tiberius (cp. Luke 3:1), not Augustus (cp. Luke 2:1), as the reigning emperor. Tertullian links the coming of Marcion with *aura canicularis*, "the wind of the dog-star". The famous heliacal rising of the dog-star, Sirius or Sothis (i.e. its rising in proximity to the rising sun), by which the Egyptian calendar was regulated, was dated July 19th or 20th, so the 6½ months takes one back to the first week of January for the (baptism and) coming of Christ. Marcion began his version of St Luke's Gospel by combining Luke 3:1 and Luke 4:31, omitting everything in between (including Christ's forty-day fast), so Tertullian also ignores this for the purposes of his calculation.

It is evident from all this that a midwinter date for the nativity, though not at first the only opinion existing in either East or West, is perhaps the earliest attested opinion in both regions, and certainly proved the prevailing opinion in both. In the course of its acceptance in the West, it was evidently adjusted to December 25th, possibly to conform it with the solstice and with the western date for the crucifixion, March 25th, exactly three months later.[5] Dates originally occurring in the lunar Jewish calendar could only be transferred approximately to a solar calendar like the Julian unless exact details were available, and this fact may have encouraged the latitude involved in such an adjustment, though it is nonetheless likely that those responsible were hoping to achieve greater precision by making it! A century later, through the influence of Chrysostom and others, the western adjustment was to find its way into the East.

The fact that a tradition of a midwinter nativity was recorded before the year 200 by Clement, was reflected about the same time in Tertullian, and may have been known to Basilides before the year 150, is not enough to establish that tradition as more than possibly historical. Before it can be accepted, other evidence on the season of Christ's birth must be considered. There is not, in fact, much of this. Two statements in the Gospel of Luke have been held to bear on it. Sir William Ramsay[6], and many other writers, base an argument on the statement in Luke 2:8 that sheep were being tended

[5] Incidentally, Hippolytus's *Commentary on Daniel* 4:23 adjusts the year as well as the day. In his *Liber Generationis ab Adam* Christ is born in A.M. 5502 and dies in A.M. 5532, whereas in the *Commentary on Daniel* he is born in A.M. 5500 and dies in A.M. 5533. As George Salmon argues, this appears to reflect a recognition of the hitherto overlooked fact that Christ's ministry lasted more than two years, as the three Passovers of the Fourth Gospel indicate ("The Commentary of Hippolytus on Daniel", in *Hermathena*, vol. 8, 1893, pp. 161ff.).

[6] *Was Christ Born at Bethlehem?* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1898), pp. 192-94.

out in the open at night time. They argue that this shows it was the hot season, when sheep will not feed by day (though Luke does not actually say that they were feeding); adding that, according to the Talmud, the flocks in the wilderness are brought in during the rainy season, from about November to March. Alfred Edersheim replies to this that the flocks of which Luke speaks were not in the wilderness, and that even of those which were the Talmud records two contrary opinions. The baraita in Bab. Betzah 40a (and also the parallel passage in Tos. Betzah 4:11) quote Rabbi Judah the Patriarch as stating that some of the flocks in the wilderness stay out all the year round. Also, a passage in the Mishnah indicates that lambs intended for the Passover were often out at the wettest season, thirty days before the festival.[7] Ramsay's argument is therefore inconclusive. A second argument which Ramsay and others use is based on the census at the time of the nativity (Luke 2:1-7). There are, of course, many problems attached to this census, which make it less clear as a mark of date than Luke probably intended it to be. Nevertheless, certain things can be inferred from it. The fact that Mary and Joseph travelled to Bethlehem at the very time when the birth of her child was imminent suggests that the date for the census was fixed by the authorities within narrow limits. It is unlikely that they would have fixed this date in the wet season, when travelling was difficult, or in the months of harvest, when people were particularly busy, for fear of defeating the object of making the census as complete as possible. The latter part of the dry season therefore seems the most likely, namely, from August to October. At the same time, no certainty can be attached to this conclusion, since the climate of Palestine is not particularly severe, and we all know that government officials frequently fail to take what appears to the onlooker to be the commonsense course, and that, where taxes are concerned, they are apt to be impatient.

A third argument is mentioned by Ramsay as having been employed by Thomas Lewin in his *Fasti Sacri* (London: Longmans, 1865), though Ramsay does not place much confidence in it. When one sees how the argument is presented by Lewin, one is not surprised by Ramsay's caution. The argument turns out to be the old argument of Chrysostom, with an attempt to correct its starting point. As Chrysostom presents it, the argument is vitiated by the fundamental assumption that Zacharias was high priest, and that the events of Luke 1:8-11 took place on the Day of Atonement. Luke states quite clearly that Zacharias was a priest of the course of Abijah, and was simply ministering in the order of his course, after which he returned home to some city of Judah other than Jerusalem (Luke 1:5, 8, 23, 39f). The

[7] *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah* (London: Longmans, 1956 edn.), vol. 1, p. 187. The passage in the Mishnah is Shekalim 7:4. See also G. H. Dalman, *Sacred Sites and Ways* (E.T., London: S.P.C.K., 1935), pp. 47-49.

high priest, by contrast, would have his home in Jerusalem, and he ministered in the Temple throughout the year.[8] Lewin recognizes that this is a mistake, and so begins his calculation not from the Day of Atonement but from the actual season when the course of Abijah ministered in the Temple. Luke's account of the ministry of Zacharias in the order of his course is an excellent example of his exact Jewish knowledge, and deserves to be taken with all seriousness.[9] Lewin supposes, however, that the 24 priestly courses of 1 Chron. 24:1-19 (of which the course of Abijah is the eighth) succeeded one another in their duties continuously, without any confusion or any regard to the end of the old year or the beginning of the new, from the time of the return from the Exile, under Zerubbabel, to the time of the nativity. The time of the return under Zerubbabel he fixes as the first year of Cyrus (Ezra 1:1), and the time of the nativity as 6 B.C. (a possible, but by no means a certain date), and concludes that the course of Abijah resumed its duties in the year preceding the nativity on May 16th (*op. cit.*, p. XXVIIIsq.).

Certainly, Lewin's presentation of the argument is sounder than Chrysostom's. Yet it needs to be said at once that all presentations of the argument are beset by inescapable uncertainties. They all depend upon the assumption that Elizabeth conceived as soon as her husband returned from his service in the Temple, and that Mary conceived as soon as she heard the message of the angel. We celebrate the Annunciation and the Nativity nine months apart on the basis of just such an assumption, and yet we know that it is completely uncertain, and that the period between is more or less symbolic. In the cases of two of the three miraculous births recorded in the Old Testament, it is explicitly said that the child will be born in a year's time, not in nine months' time (Gen. 17:21; 21:2; 2 Kgs. 4:16f.). How do we know that this is not the case with miraculous births foretold in the New Testament as well?[10]

Because of this uncertainty, we must now draw our discussion of the date of Christmas to a close. We have seen that a midwinter date for the nativity is ancient, and may be based upon a historical tradition, not just on pagan festivals or arbitrary calculations, and that the arguments urged against it from the behaviour of the shepherds and the holding of the census have little weight. Any argument, for or against, based on the ministry of Zacharias in

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[8] See the evidence collected in Joachim Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus* (E.T., London: SCM, 1969), p. 151.

[9] His knowledge of the operation of the 24 courses might have been inferred from the Old Testament, but his reference to the casting of lots among the members of the course to decide who shall offer the incense (Luke 1:9) can only be paralleled in the Mishnah (Yoma 2:4; Tamid 5:2,4; 6:3).

[10] Mary's reply to the angel (Luke 1:34) implies that she expects the conception to take place during the period of her betrothal, but it does not imply more than that. Betrothal, we are told by the Mishnah, lasted up to twelve months (Ketuboth 5:2).

the Temple, has no weight at all. Our further discussion of this topic, and of the courses of the priests, will therefore be pursued for its own sake, and not for any supposed bearing it has upon the date of Christmas.

2. The Courses of the Priests

We outlined above Thomas Lewin's argument from the sequence of the priestly courses, and noted that his conception of the operation of the courses is that they followed one another continuously, without any regard to the end of the old year or the beginning of the new, and that there was no break between the return from the Exile and the time of Christ. This involves two gross improbabilities.

The first is that the Jewish authorities and the leaders of the priestly courses would have been content to proceed in a manner that gave them no yardstick for checking which course ought to be on duty at a particular time, should doubt or disagreement arise. That the priestly courses were expected to follow one another continuously, without regard for the beginning and end of years, would be credible only if the Jews of post-exilic times had possessed an exact knowledge of chronology and astronomy, such as would have allowed them to calculate the coincidences between the days of the week and the dates of the month, from the return to their own time, and from then onwards, and to fix with exactness the Sabbath on which each priestly course should come on duty over a period of centuries. In reality, both Josephus and the rabbinical chronicles show knowledge of chronology to have been very imperfect; and, as to astronomy, it is highly doubtful whether, until several centuries after Christ, the Jews would have been able to predict the dates with certainty for two years together. Their month was lunar (i.e. of 29 or 30 days), and in the first century, as the Mishnah shows, the beginning of the new months was still being fixed by actual observation of the new moon. Since the lunar year is just under eleven days shorter than the solar year, an extra month (the Second Adar) had to be added at the end of the year, making a leap-year, whenever it was perceived that the new year would otherwise be seriously ahead of the seasons and the crops. This would happen, on average, every two to three years.[11] However, since the seasons and the crops are not mechanically regular, to fix the calendar by observation involves wide fluctuations, and in practice the decision that a particular year would be a leap-year must have been even less predictable than the decision that a particular day would be the new moon. This being so, it is incredible that post-exilic Judaism would have had so little regard to human fallibility as to suppose that the courses could follow one another

[11] See pp. 62-63.

indefinitely, without confusion, despite the absence of any means of satisfying doubts or resolving disagreements.

Lewin's second improbable assumption is akin to his first. Granted that the Jewish authorities acted in the irresponsible manner which his theory implies, it is surely impossible to believe that they would not have paid the price of their folly. Yet Lewin assumes that the order of the courses continued undisturbed, century after century, from the time of Zerubbabel to the time of Christ. Even when the Temple was desecrated by Antiochus Epiphanes and lay desolate for three years, he presumably supposes the order of the courses to have been unaffected: yet how can one tell whether, after the interval, the courses began again from where they left off, or from where they would have reached but for the interruption, or went back again to the beginning of the series and started with Jehoiarib (the course to which the victorious Maccabees themselves belonged)? With a historical objection of this weight against his theory, and the general probability that from time to time mistakes would be made, it is impossible to treat his calculation with any confidence.

H. L. Strack and Paul Billerbeck, in their *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch* (München: Beck, 1922-61), when commenting on Luke 1:5, appear to advocate a view not unlike Lewin's, inferring from a saying of Rabbi Abbahu (c. A.D. 300), recorded in the Jerusalem Talmud at Jer. Sukkah 5:7-8 and elsewhere, that the courses followed one another in unbroken succession, without regard to the beginning and ending of years. On this assumption, Rabbi Abbahu calculates that at the beginning of each jubilee year a different course was ministering, until the whole 24 had done so. Strack-Billerbeck do not, indeed, assume that the courses started from any particular year, or continued without mistake[12], so their view is open only to the first objection brought against Lewin's, not to the second. Interestingly, it seems that, within a few centuries of the destruction of the Temple, the true method of fixing the weeks for the priestly courses had been forgotten, for Strack-Billerbeck also bring forward another saying, first recorded in the midrash Pesikta, and attributed to Rabbi Hiyya (c. A.D. 200), which seems to imply that the cycle of courses began afresh each Nisan.[13] Yet the earliest evidence, as we shall see, implies that

[12] Consequently they deprecate any attempt to fix the time of the course of Abijah, as a pointer to the time of the nativity.

[13] This saying, found at Pesikta 69b, is quoted by Strack-Billerbeck as follows: "Rabbi Hiyya learned as a 'baraita': There are to be seven full weeks [between Passover and Pentecost] (Lev. 23:15). When are they full? When Jeshua and Shecaniah [the ninth and tenth courses] are not between." Strack-Billerbeck explain the saying by comparing a passage in the Babylonian Talmud (Menahoth 65b), which shows that "full weeks" means unbroken weeks, from Sabbath to Sabbath, such as there were between Passover (according to rabbinical terminology Nisan 15, the day of the Passover *meal*) and Pentecost (Siwan 6) when Passover or Pentecost was a

the cycle began afresh each Tishri, and that this was its only fixed point in the year.

Already in the seventeenth century, John Lightfoot, when commenting on Luke 1:5 in his *Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae,* saw the necessity for the priestly courses to have been linked to the year, if they were not to fall into confusion. Noting that they were 24 in number, and that this would give each course two weeks in the lunar year with a little to spare, he suggested that the courses ran from the beginning of the first month Nisan for a week at a time, and started again at the beginning of the seventh month Tishri, the remaining weeks of each half-year being more or less accounted for (except in leap-year) by the fact that the 24 courses all ministered together during Passover, Pentecost and Tabernacles. His theory is open to objection in detail, but in general conception it is decidedly more credible than those of Lewin and Strack-Billerbeck. The main objections are that, though there is evidence of the cycle of courses beginning from Tishri, there is reason to think that the cycle did not start again from Nisan; and that, though the priestly courses all ministered together at the three great festivals, this did not interrupt the regular sequence of the courses, since the normal duties of the week were performed by the course whose turn it was, and the other courses simply helped with the strictly festal offerings. These facts will become clear as we proceed.

In proposing an alternative to the theories of Lewin, Strack-Billerbeck and Lightfoot, it will be helpful to set out first the main relevant facts about the courses in the time of Jesus, as they are known to us from the Old Testament, Josephus and the earlier rabbinical literature.

(a) The 24 priestly courses were believed to have been instituted by David, as recorded in I Chron. 24:1-19, to correspond with the 24 families

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Sabbath, since in that case the day before Pentecost (Siwan 5) or the day after Passover (Nisan 16) was also likely to be a Sabbath. If, however, the Sabbath fell a couple of days earlier or later, the priestly course ending on the first Sabbath would partly come "between" Passover and the Sabbath, or "between" Passover and Pentecost; and the priestly course beginning on the last Sabbath would partly come "between" the Sabbath and Pentecost, or "between" Passover and Pentecost. Hence, with the cycle of courses beginning at Tishri, the courses which would come "between" when the weeks were not "full" would be the fourth and the twelfth, or in leap year the eighth and the sixteenth (see Tables IV and I below). There is no reason, however, to think that Jeshua and Shecaniah were ever the fourth and twelfth or eighth and sixteenth courses. Assuming the saying to be old, these names were probably substituted after the true chronology of the courses had been forgotten. As Strack-Billerbeck remark, the saying is altered in Leviticus Rabbah 28 (another midrash of about the fifth century A.D., contemporary with Pesikta) because its meaning has been forgotten: there, an ethical statement replaces the names of the courses. In Pesikta itself the change is not so complete, but is made on two crucial assumptions, as the calendrical tables drawn up by Strack-Billerbeck to explain the saying prove. The first assumption is that the cycle of courses began afresh at Nisan, and the second is that the great annual feasts interrupted the sequence of the courses. As will be seen below, both these assumptions are proved by really early evidence to be false.

which had by then developed out of the posterity of Aaron, sixteen of the families being descendants of his elder son Eleazar and eight of them descendants of his younger son Ithamar. However, it was further believed that only four of these courses had returned from the Exile, in accordance with Ezra 2:36-39, and that these four had then each been subdivided into six, in order to restore the original number and names (Tos. Taanith 2:1; baraita in Bab. Taanith 27a-b and Bab. Arakhin 12b-13a).[14]

(b) Each course ministered for a week at a time, and they changed over at noon on the Sabbath (2 Chron. 23:4, 8; Josephus, *Antiquities* 7:14:7, or 7:365; *Against Apion* 2:8, or 2:108; M. Sukkah 5:8; M. Tamid 5:1; Tos. Taanith 2:1f).

(c) The original order of the 24 courses had been decided by casting lots, and was intended to settle the order in which they ministered (1 Chron. 24:5, 7-19, 31). That this order was maintained in practice is clear from the Mishnah (Baba Kamma 9:12), from other tannaitic writings (Tos. Baba Kamma 10:18; Sifre on Numbers 4), from baraitas preserved in the Babylonian Talmud (Baba Kamma 111a) and from Qumran documents discussed below.

(d) At some date the course of Bilgah (the fifteenth course) was prohibited from officiating (M. Sukkah 5:8). According to the Tosephta and both Talmuds, however, the effect was not to reduce the cycle of weeks to 23; instead, the preceding course of Jeshebeab carried on for a second week (Tos. Sukkah 4:28; Jer. Sukkah 5:8; Bab. Sukkah 56b). This evidence draws some support from the Qumran documents just mentioned, where the number of courses included in the cycle is likewise still 24.

(e) At the three great pilgrim-festivals of Passover, Pentecost and Tabernacles, all the courses of priests were on duty together (on the pattern of 2 Chron. 5:11), because of the number of sacrifices then being offered. However, this did not interrupt the sequence of the courses, since the additional 23 concerned themselves only with the

[14] The four courses were Jedaiah, Immer, Pashhur (= Malchijah, cp. Neh. 11:12) and Harim, the second, the sixteenth, the fifth and the third in the list of 1 Chron. 24. Incidentally, if this tradition about the restoration of the 24 courses is reliable, and was not simply invented to discredit the course of Jehoiarib, to which the Maccabean high priests belonged (1 Macc. 2:1), it strongly favours the historicity of 1 Chron. 24, so widely discounted. Why else go to such trouble to restore something which had never existed before, and why choose so awkward a number as 24, when 25 or 26 would fit the number of weeks in the lunar or solar year so much better? At least the casting of lots in that chapter must be historical, otherwise it is impossible to understand why the course of Jedaiah, to which the Zadokite high priesthood belonged (Ezra 2:36), was not given pride of place.

> special festal offerings. "The course of priests whose time of service was determined" for that week in the ordinary sequence offered all the ordinary offerings: the one alteration in the ordinary customs was that, when the shewbread was changed on the Sabbath, the old shewbread was not shared between the outgoing and the incoming course, but between all the courses (M. Sukkah 5:6-8). As has already been pointed out, the fact that the feasts did not interrupt the order of the courses is in conflict both with Lightfoot's theory and with the theory implied in the present wording of Pesikta 69b.

Bearing these facts in mind, we intend now to consider two early pieces of evidence indicating that the cycle of the priestly courses commenced at the beginning of Tishri, and that this was its one fixed point in the year. The Jews had four new-year days (M. Rosh ha-Shanah 1:1), but much the most important were Nisan 1, the new year for feasts etc., and Tishri 1, the new year for sabbatical and jubilee years etc. The former of these is the more prominent in the Old Testament, but the latter is also found there, and has lately been the centre of a great deal of attention. It was recognised at Qumran, as well as in mainline Judaism: in the Qumran literature also, "Rosh ha-Shanah" (New Year's Day) is a title for the feast on Tishri 1.[15] First century evidence for the Tishri new-year is provided by Philo (*De Specialibus Legibus* 2:150, 153; *Quaestiones et Solutiones in Genesin* 2:31, 47; *in Exodum* 1:1) and by Josephus (*Antiquities* 1:3:3, or 1:80f; 3:10:1-7, or 3:237-257), and in the rabbinical literature it is attested from the outset.

Now, in addition to the two rabbinical sayings about the priestly courses on which Strack-Billerbeck concentrate attention, there is a third which they do not do more than mention, though it is decidedly older and better attested than the other two. It is found in the Tosephta (a tannaitic collection only less ancient than the Mishnah), in both Talmuds, and in the chronicle Seder Olam Rabbah, to the early nucleus of which it probably belongs.[16] The saying runs:

> Rabbi Jose said, Fortunate things happen on a fortunate day, and evil things on an evil day. For as the First Temple was destroyed on a Sunday, the year after a sabbatical year, when the course of Jehoiarib was on duty, on Ab 9, so it was with the Second Temple.[17]

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[15] See J. T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea (ut supra)*, p. 109.

[16] See Tos. Taanith 4:9; Jer. Taanith 4:6; Bab. Taanith 29a; Bab. Arakhin 11b; Seder Olam Rabbah 30.

[17] Rabbi Jose's saying is sometimes (though less naturally) taken to mean that the destruction occurred at the end of a sabbatical year, not in the year after one. We shall see in what follows that the year of the destruction was a leap year and contained a second Adar. Now, it was agreed among the rabbis that a sabbatical year must not be lengthened in this way, because it was a year of scarcity, but the house of Rabban Gamaliel, which held the patriarchate through most of the first two centuries A.D., allowed the year after a sabbatical

The saying is recorded in the name of Rabbi Jose ben Halafta (c. A.D. 150), and if it really comes from him, which there is no reason to doubt, it dates from only about eighty years after the destruction of the Temple. Whether this is a reliable tradition of the circumstances in which the First Temple was destroyed may, of course, be doubted, but as to the destruction of the Second Temple it probably is reliable.[18] If so, the course of Jehoiarib came on duty that year on the Sabbath of Saturday Ab 8, and as the course of Jehoiarib was the first of the 24 courses, it is presumably possible to tell when, in the preceding months, the others had come on duty as well. Assuming that the months, being lunar, were of 29 and 30 days alternately, the dates for the preceding months would have been as follows:

Table I: THE PRIESTLY COURSES IN THE TEMPLE (A)

Saturday	Nisan	7	Course 8	Abijah commenced
Saturday	Nisan	14	Course 9	Jeshua commenced
Saturday	Nisan	21	Course 10	Shecaniah commenced
Saturday	Nisan	28	Course 11	Eliashib commenced
Saturday	Iyyar	6	Course 12	Jakim commenced
Saturday	Iyyar	13	Course 13	Huppah commenced
Saturday	Iyyar	20	Course 14	Jeshebeab commenced
Saturday	Iyyar	27	Course 15	Bilgah commenced
Saturday	Siwan	4	Course 16	Immer commenced
Saturday	Siwan	11	Course 17	Hezir commenced
Saturday	Siwan	18	Course 18	Happizzez commenced
Saturday	Siwan	25	Course 19	Pethahiah commenced
Saturday	Tammuz	3	Course 20	Jehezkel commenced
Saturday	Tammuz	10	Course 21	Jachin commenced
Saturday	Tammuz	17	Course 22	Gamul commenced
Saturday	Tammuz	24	Course 23	Delaiah commenced
Saturday	Ab	1	Course 24	Maaziah commenced
Saturday	Ab	8	Course 1	Jehoiarib commenced

year to be thus lengthened (Bab. Sanhedrin 12a, commenting on a baraita that forbids this). B.Z. Wacholder (the latest advocate of the idea that the destruction took place in an actual sabbatical year) is therefore consistent when he simply discounts Rabbi Jose's saying: see his elaborate article "The Calendar of Sabbatical Cycles during the Second Temple and the Early Rabbinic Period", in *Hebrew Union College Annual*, vol. 44 (1973), pp. 153-196. The sabbatical year ran from Tishri to Elul, not from Nisan to Adar (M. Rosh ha-Shanah 1:1), and the same doubtless applied to the year following it. Hence, a Second Adar which preceded Ab was part of the same year, not of the previous year, and if Ab fell in a leap year, this would mean that it was preceded, not followed, by a Second Adar.

[18] According to the Old Testament, the First Temple was destroyed on Ab 7 (2 Kgs. 25:8f). Josephus, who was an eye-witness of the burning of the Second Temple, states that it began on Lous 8 and ended on Lous 10 (*War* 6:4:1-8, or 6:220-270). Lous was a Macedonian lunar month, corresponding to Ab.

It is clear at once from this table that the cycle of courses did not (as Pesikta and Lightfoot assume) start at Nisan, which began while the seventh course was on duty. When did the cycle begin? The answer to this question depends on whether the months before Nisan belonged to a leap year or not. Leap years were very frequent (falling, on average, rather more than once in three years). Both possibilities must therefore be set out side by side.

Table II: THE PRIESTLY COURSES IN THE TEMPLE (B)
(ordinary year)

Saturday	Ab	26	Course 1	Jehoiarib commenced
Saturday	Elul	4	Course 2	Jedaiah commenced
Saturday	Elul	11	Course 3	Harim commenced
Saturday	Elul	18	Course 4	Seorim commenced
Saturday	Elul	25	Course 5	Malchijah commenced
Saturday	Tishri	2	Course 6	Mijamin commenced
Saturday	Tishri	9	Course 7	Hakkoz commenced
Saturday	Tishri	16	Course 8	Abijah commenced
Saturday	Tishri	23	Course 9	Jeshua commenced
Saturday	Heshwan	1	Course 10	Shecaniah commenced
Saturday	Heshwan	8	Course 11	Eliashib commenced
Saturday	Heshwan	15	Course 12	Jakim commenced
Saturday	Heshwan	22	Course 13	Huppah commenced
Saturday	Heshwan	29	Course 14	Jeshebeab commenced
Saturday	Chislev	6	Course 15	Bilgah commenced
Saturday	Chislev	13	Course 16	Immer commenced
Saturday	Chislev	20	Course 17	Hezir commenced
Saturday	Chislev	27	Course 18	Happizzez commenced
Saturday	Tebeth	5	Course 19	Pethahiah commenced
Saturday	Tebeth	12	Course 20	Jehezkel commenced
Saturday	Tebeth	19	Course 21	Jachin commenced
Saturday	Tebeth	26	Course 22	Gamul commenced
Saturday	Shebat	3	Course 23	Delaiah commenced
Saturday	Shebat	10	Course 24	Maaziah commenced
Saturday	Shebat	17	Course 1	Jehoiarib commenced
Saturday	Shebat	24	Course 2	Jedaiah commenced
Saturday	Adar	2	Course 3	Harim commenced
Saturday	Adar	9	Course 4	Seorim commenced
Saturday	Adar	16	Course 5	Malchijah commenced
Saturday	Adar	23	Course 6	Mijamin commenced
Saturday	Adar	30	Course 7	Hakkoz commenced

(continuing as in Table I)

Table II: THE PRIESTLY COURSES IN THE TEMPLE (B) *(leap year)*				
Saturday	Elul	27	Course 1	Jehoiarib commenced
Saturday	Tishri	4	Course 2	Jedaiah commenced
Saturday	Tishri	11	Course 3	Harim commenced
Saturday	Tishri	18	Course 4	Seorim commenced
Saturday	Tishri	25	Course 5	Malchijah commenced
Saturday	Heshwan	3	Course 6	Mijamin commenced
Saturday	Heshwan	10	Course 7	Hakkoz commenced
Saturday	Heshwan	17	Course 8	Abijah commenced
Saturday	Heshwan	24	Course 9	Jeshua commenced
Saturday	Chislev	1	Course 10	Shecaniah commenced
Saturday	Chislev	8	Course 11	Eliashib commenced
Saturday	Chislev	15	Course 12	Jakim commenced
Saturday	Chislev	22	Course 13	Huppah commenced
Saturday	Chislev	29	Course 14	Jeshebeab commenced
Saturday	Tebeth	7	Course 15	Bilgah commenced
Saturday	Tebeth	14	Course 16	Immer commenced
Saturday	Tebeth	21	Course 17	Hezir commenced
Saturday	Tebeth	28	Course 18	Happizzez commenced
Saturday	Shebat	5	Course 19	Pethahiah commenced
Saturday	Shebat	12	Course 20	Jehezkel commenced
Saturday	Shebat	19	Course 21	Jachin commenced
Saturday	Shebat	26	Course 22	Gamul commenced
Saturday	1st Adar	4	Course 23	Delaiah commenced
Saturday	1st Adar	11	Course 24	Maaziah commenced
Saturday	1st Adar	18	Course 1	Jehoiarib commenced
Saturday	1st Adar	25	Course 2	Jedaiah commenced
Saturday	2nd Adar	2	Course 3	Harim commenced
Saturday	2nd Adar	9	Course 4	Seorim commenced
Saturday	2nd Adar	16	Course 5	Malchijah commenced
Saturday	2nd Adar	23	Course 6	Mijamin commenced
Saturday	2nd Adar	30	Course 7	Hakkoz commenced
				(continuing as in Table I)

These tables show that, if the year was an ordinary year, the first course, that of Jehoiarib, was on duty at Elul 1; but that, if it was a leap year, the same course was on duty at Tishri 1. That the cycle of courses began on Elul 1 is not absolutely impossible, since this is one of the two minor new-year days of M. Rosh ha-Shanah 1:1, namely, the new year for the tithe of cattle. But it is much more likely that the cycle began on the important new-year day of Tishri 1, the day on which the priests and their courses commenced their duties at the rebuilt altar after the Exile (Ezra 3:1-6), and the day beginning the month in which the earlier temple of Solomon was dedicated (1 Kgs. 8:2; 2 Chron. 5:3; 7:10). Starting then, the cycle had revolved twice by Ab 8, and

was commencing the third partial revolution which completed every lunar year of 50½ weeks, and with which it progressed a few turns further than in other years if there was a Second Adar, as on this occasion. To complete it as far as the return of Tishri 1, we must add the courses which would have followed but for the destruction of the Temple, namely these:

Table III: THE PRIESTLY COURSES IN THE TEMPLE (C)				
Saturday	Ab	15	Course 2	Jedaiah would have commenced
Saturday	Ab	22	Course 3	Harim would have commenced
Saturday	Ab	29	Course 4	Seorim would have commenced
Saturday	Elul	7	Course 5	Malchijah would have commenced
Saturday	Elul	14	Course 6	Mijamin would have commenced
Saturday	Elul	21	Course 7	Hakkoz would have commenced
Saturday	Elul	28	Course 1	Jehoiarib would have commenced
Saturday	Tishri	5	Course 2	Jedaiah would have commenced

By taking the second part of Table II, subjoining to it Table I, and finally adding Table III, one can see how the courses ran for a complete leap year, from the beginning of Tishri to the beginning of Tishri. If, on the other hand, it had not been a leap year, the courses would have continued after the end of First Adar, towards the end of the second part of Table II, in the same sequence but on different dates, as follows:

Table IV: THE PRIESTLY COURSES IN THE TEMPLE (D)				
Saturday	Nisan	2	Course 3	Harim would have commenced
Saturday	Nisan	9	Course 4	Seorim would have commenced
Saturday	Nisan	16	Course 5	Malchijah would have commenced
Saturday	Nisan	23	Course 6	Mijamin would have commenced
Saturday	Iyyar	1	Course 7	Hakkoz would have commenced
Saturday	Iyyar	8	Course 8	Abijah would have commenced
Saturday	Iyyar	15	Course 9	Jeshua would have commenced
Saturday	Iyyar	22	Course 10	Shecaniah would have commenced
Saturday	Iyyar	29	Course 11	Eliashib would have commenced
Saturday	Siwan	6	Course 12	Jakim would have commenced
Saturday	Siwan	13	Course 13	Huppah would have commenced
Saturday	Siwan	20	Course 14	Jeshebeab would have commenced
Saturday	Siwan	27	Course 15	Bilgah would have commenced
Saturday	Tammuz	5	Course 16	Immer would have commenced
Saturday	Tammuz	12	Course 17	Hezir would have commenced
Saturday	Tammuz	19	Course 18	Happizzez would have commenced
Saturday	Tammuz	26	Course 19	Pethahiah would have commenced
Saturday	Ab	3	Course 20	Jehezkel would have commenced
Saturday	Ab	10	Course 21	Jachin would have commenced
Saturday	Ab	17	Course 22	Gamul would have commenced
Saturday	Ab	24	Course 23	Delaiah would have commenced
Saturday	Elul	2	Course 24	Maaziah would have commenced
Saturday	Elul	9	Course 1	Jehoiarib would have commenced
Saturday	Elul	16	Course 2	Jedaiah would have commenced
Saturday	Elul	23	Course 3	Harim would have commenced
Saturday	Elul	30	Course 1	Jehoiarib would have commenced
Saturday	Tishri	7	Course 2	Jedaiah would have commenced

It will be noted that the day on which the course of Jehoiarib recommenced the cycle each year was not the Sabbath on or next after Tishri 1, but the Sabbath on or next before Tishri 1, so as always to be on duty on Tishri 1 itself. It may be wondered how this could be arranged, at a time when the beginning of Tishri was dependent on the observation of the new moon, and the preceding month Elul might have either 29 or 30 days. A possible answer is the following. The new moon of Elul would always have been observed on time, since it came in the dry season and not in cloudy weather. The only years when doubt would arise would be those when Elul 24 was a Sabbath. It may be that in those years Jehoiarib always came on duty on Elul 24 in case the month had only 29 days, in which case he would complete his week on Tishri 2. If, however, the month turned out to have 30 days, so that he would be due to go off duty on Tishri 1, it may be that he continued for a second week, like the course of Jeshebeab.

Significant confirmation that the cycle of priestly courses began from Tishri is provided by a group of documents discovered at Qumran and described by J. T. Milik.[19] As is generally known, the Qumran community did not observe the lunar year observed by the Pharisees and Sadducees, but a doctrinaire solar year of their own, derived from the books of 1 Enoch and Jubilees, consisting of exactly 52 weeks or 364 days, each month having thirty days, with a quarter day after the third, sixth, ninth and twelfth months, effectively giving them thirty-one days. As their year consisted of exactly 52 weeks, the dates in the month always fell, from year to year, on the same day of the week, Nisan 1 and Tishri 1 always being Wednesdays.[20] The documents we are concerned with are almanacs for six years, designed to show that in six Qumran years the 24-week sequence of the priestly courses would be completed exactly thirteen times, for 6 x 52 weeks = 312 weeks, and 13 x 24 weeks = 312 weeks. The calendar would then have reached the point from which it began, and the cycle would be repeated. The documents list the feasts, and other significant days, showing which priestly course is on duty at those dates in each of the six years. The documents begin from Nisan, which is the new year for feasts in the Old Testament (Exod. 12; Lev.23; Num. 28-29 etc.) no less than in the Mishnah, and which appears to have been the new year for almost all purposes at Qumran, including sabbatical and jubilee years.[21] Milik notes the (at first sight) surprising fact that the course on duty at the beginning of Nisan in the first year is not Jehoiarib but Gamul. However, when one sees the first year as a whole, this ceases to be surprising. Milik quotes ten entries from the first year, which are italicised in the table following. By filling in the intervening entries, one discovers that, though Nisan begins with Gamul, in the middle of the series, the courses are the same in number, name and order with those of orthodox Judaism, being likewise derived from 1 Chronicles 24. One also discovers that at the beginning of Tishri, the other main new year, stands the first course, Jehoiarib. This explains why Jehoiarib does not stand at the beginning of Nisan. For Qumran also, Tishri must have been the new year for the priestly courses, and this may indeed be the reason why they retained the name "Rosh ha-Shanah" for Tishri 1, Nisan 1 being (as we have just seen) their new year for most other purposes.

The courses for the first year of the Qumran cycle are as follows:

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[19] In *Volume du Congrès, Strasbourg 1956* (Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, vol. 4), p. 25, and in his *Ten Years of Discovery*, cited above, pp. 107-109. The chief MSS are 4Q 320 and 321, which, like the rest of the Scrolls, have now been made public. The Qumran school did not normally use the Babylonian names for the months, but for the sake of uniformity and clarity they are employed here.

[20] For the leading facts about the Qumran calendar, see chapter 5.

[21] See note 62 on p. 132.

Table V: THE PRIESTLY COURSES AT QUMRAN				
Wednesday	*Nisan*	*1*	*Course 22*	*Gamul continued*
Saturday	Nisan	4	Course 23	Delaiah commenced
Saturday	*Nisan*	*11*	*Course 24*	*Maaziah commenced*
Saturday	Nisan	18	Course 1	Jehoiarib commenced
Saturday	*Nisan*	*25*	*Course 2*	*Jedaiah commenced*
Saturday	Iyyar	2	Course 3	Harim commenced
Saturday	*Iyyar*	*9*	*Course 4*	*Seorim commenced*
Saturday	*Iyyar*	*16*	*Course 5*	*Malchijah commenced*
Saturday	Iyyar	23	Course 6	Mijamin commenced
Saturday	Iyyar	30	Course 7	Hakkoz commenced
Saturday	Siwan	7	Course 8	Abijah commenced
Saturday	*Siwan*	*14*	*Course 9*	*Jeshua commenced*
Saturday	Siwan	21	Course 10	Shecaniah commenced
Saturday	Siwan	28	Course 11	Eliashib commenced
Saturday	Tammuz	4	Course 12	Jakim commenced
Saturday	Tammuz	11	Course 13	Huppah commenced
Saturday	Tammuz	18	Course 14	Jeshebeab commenced
Saturday	Tammuz	25	Course 15	Bilgah commenced
Saturday	Ab	2	Course 16	Immer commenced
Saturday	Ab	9	Course 17	Hezir commenced
Saturday	Ab	16	Course 18	Happizzez commenced
Saturday	Ab	23	Course 19	Pethahiah commenced
Saturday	Ab	30	Course 20	Jehezkel commenced
Saturday	Elul	7	Course 21	Jachin commenced
Saturday	Elul	14	Course 22	Gamul commenced
Saturday	Elul	21	Course 23	Delaiah commenced
Saturday	*Elul*	*28*	*Course 24*	*Maaziah commenced*
Saturday	*Tishri*	*4*	*Course 1*	*Jehoiarib commenced*
Saturday	*Tishri*	*11*	*Course 2*	*Jedaiah commenced*
Saturday	Tishri	18	Course 3	Harim commenced
Saturday	Tishri	25	Course 4	Seorim commenced
Saturday	Heshwan	2	Course 5	Malchijah commenced
Saturday	Heshwan	9	Course 6	Mijamin commenced
Saturday	Heshwan	16	Course 7	Hakkoz commenced
Saturday	Heshwan	23	Course 8	Abijah commenced
Saturday	Heshwan	30	Course 9	Jeshua commenced
Saturday	Chislev	7	Course 10	Shecaniah commenced
Saturday	Chislev	14	Course 11	Eliashib commenced
Saturday	Chislev	21	Course 12	Jakim commenced
Saturday	Chislev	28	Course 13	Huppah commenced
Saturday	Tebeth	4	Course 14	Jeshebeab commenced
Saturday	Tebeth	11	Course 15	Bilgah commenced
Saturday	Tebeth	18	Course 16	Immer commenced
Saturday	Tebeth	25	Course 17	Hezir commenced
Saturday	Shebat	2	Course 18	Happizzez commenced
Saturday	Shebat	9	Course 19	Pethahiah commenced

Saturday	*Shebat*	*16*	*Course 20*	*Jehezkel commenced*
Saturday	Shebat	23	Course 21	Jachin commenced
Saturday	Shebat	30	Course 22	Gamul commenced
Saturday	Adar	7	Course 23	Delaiah commenced
Saturday	Adar	14	Course 24	Maaziah commenced
Saturday	Adar	21	Course 1	Jehoiarib commenced
Saturday	Adar	28	Course 2	Jedaiah commenced

If this table were continued for the remaining five years of the cycle, it would be found that the courses coming on duty at the beginning of Nisan were course 3, course 7, course 11, course 15 and course 19, and the courses coming on duty at the beginning of Tishri course 5, course 9, course 13, course 17 and course 21. The beginning of the cycle for the priestly courses is thus unmistakably Tishri in the first year.

Two differences from the earlier tables are noteworthy. One is the fact that the cycle recommences every six years instead of every year. This is a consequence of the peculiar Qumran solar year of exactly 52 weeks. In six years the number of weeks is divisible by 24, the number of the priestly courses. Nothing of this kind could ever be done with the orthodox lunar year, which had first to reconcile itself with the solar year about three times in eight years, and was still not exactly divisible into weeks, let alone into periods of 24 weeks. The minimum cycle for the courses on the orthodox calendar would have been 224 years, during which each course would have performed its duties 487 times. But even this would have proved a delusive cycle, for three leap years in eight years is not an exact reconciliation with the solar year, and a further correction would have been necessary about every ninety years. In practice, as we have seen, the Jews who followed the orthodox calendar did not attempt elaborate calculations of this kind, but kept the moon and sun in line simply by watching for the new moons, the seasons and the crops.

The other difference is that, whereas the Pharisees and Sadducees began the cycle from the Sabbath on or next before Tishri 1, Qumran began it from the Sabbath next after Tishri 1. This is a typical example of the independence of the Qumran school. A similar example is their dating of the Sheaf. They agreed with the Sadducees, against the Pharisees, that the Sheaf should be offered (according to Lev. 23:11, 15) on the morrow after the weekly Sabbath, not on the morrow after the festival day; but instead of selecting the Sabbath of the week of Unleavened Bread, like the Sadducees, they selected the Sabbath of the following week.

If they were so independent, it may be wondered why they adhered to the Tishri new year for the priestly courses. The probable answer is that it had been observed from the time of the return from the Exile, and finding some sort of biblical basis for it in Ezra 3:1-6, and possibly in 1 Kgs. 8:2; 2 Chron.

5:3; 7:10 as well, they resolved to adhere to it. Whether their method of observing it is older or less old than the orthodox method is a question impossible to settle with certainty, but, as being more sophisticated, it is probably less old.

The above table makes it quite clear that Qumran retained the 24 priestly courses of 1 Chronicles 24. The idea entertained by some that they substituted 26 priestly courses of their own is based on the War Scroll, 1QM, 2:1-6, which apparently deals with special provisions for the eschatological war. During the war, only the priests too old to go out with the armies are to perform the sacrifices, and they are to be organized for the occasion in 26 courses. This presumably means that they are to be organized on a yearly, not a six-yearly, basis (the 40 years of the war not being a number divisible by 6), and that each course will serve for two weeks in the year.

Since Milik's first publications on this matter, he has published further material. These additional texts fully confirm the above reconstruction of the Qumran cycle, but also show that in some manuscripts it was extended to seven jubilees.[22] The reason for this is doubtless that six years was not a normal division of time for the Qumran school, who measured years primarily in year-weeks and jubilees.[23] But in six jubilees the six-year cycle would be reconciled with the 49-year jubilee, for 6 x 49 = 294 and 49 x 6 = 294. Then, in the 295th year, with the commencement of the seventh jubilee, the process could begin again.

The reconciliation with the year-week would be achieved more quickly, in 42 years.

There is no question which of the two methods of organizing the priestly courses was in use in the Temple at the beginning of the Christian era. The high priests were Sadducees, the prevailing school of thought among the people were the Pharisees, and on this matter there was no known difference of opinion between them. The Qumran community was a dissenting sect, excluded from the Temple (Josephus, *Antiquities* 18:1:5, or 18:19), and reckoning the Temple polluted.[24] It may have followed the six-year cycle in its own communities, but in the Temple the one-year cycle reflected in the saying of Rabbi Jose would no doubt have been followed.

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[22] See especially his edition of *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), pp. 61-65, and the MS 4Q 259. The MS makes its point by exactly dividing 294 years not only into six-year cycles but also into year-weeks and jubilees. For further information see pp. 122-125.

[23] See pp. 219-220.

[24] See pp. 137-138.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE PERPETUAL CALENDAR OF THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

Ever since the Ethiopic versions of the First Book of Enoch and the Book of Jubilees became available to scholars in the nineteenth century, it has been known that these books both contend for a doctrinaire solar year, consisting of exactly 364 days, as the proper basis of the Jewish calendar. With the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls in the last half century, however, it has become clear that this calendar was not simply an antique literary hypothesis, but was the calendar recognized and presumably observed by an actual religious community (that centred at Qumran) up to the latter part of the first century A.D. The community has normally been identified, on the basis of a preponderance of evidence, as a community of Essenes. The literature found at Qumran has considerably expanded our knowledge of the 364-day calendar to which the community adhered. Parts of 1 Enoch, in the original Aramaic, and parts of Jubilees, in the original Hebrew, have also been found there. The Aramaic fragments of 1 Enoch have been elaborately edited by J. T. Milik in *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976). To his transcription and interpretation of the fragments (though not to his speculative theories about them) every student is deeply indebted.

The First Book of Enoch falls into five distinct parts, which are sometimes called, as by J. T. Milik, 1. The Book of Watchers (chs. 1-36), 2. The Book of Parables (chs. 37-71), 3. The Astronomical Book (chs. 72-82), 4. The Book of Dreams (chs. 83-90) and 5. The Epistle of Enoch (chs. 91-107). The oldest parts, to judge both from the age of the Aramaic manuscripts and from internal evidence, are the first and the third. Milik dates the oldest manuscript of the third part in the late third or early second century B.C., and the oldest of the first part in the first half of the second century B.C. Neither part makes distinct reference to the rise of the Essene party or the Maccabean war of independence, as the fourth and fifth parts do (1 Enoch 90:9f; 93:9f; 91:11), so they may predate these events. The second part has not been found at Qumran at all, and seems to reflect an admixture of Pharisaic thinking. The account given of the writings of Enoch in the Book of Jubilees (Jub. 4:17-23) shows that the first and third parts were both known to the author, and also the fourth, but not apparently the second or fifth. The part most directly relevant to the calendar is the third part, the

Astronomical Book, which appears from the Qumran fragments to have been much more extensive in the Aramaic original than in the Ethiopic version. Even as it is, it gives a more detailed explanation of the 364-day calendar than any other source—so detailed, as to suggest that the author was introducing his readers to a calendar with which they were quite unfamiliar.

The calendar in question is basically solar. It has twelve months of thirty days each (roughly a twelfth of the solar year), with a quarter day after the third, sixth, ninth and twelfth months, dividing the four seasons, and making those four months effectively 31 days long (1 Enoch 72:8-32; 75:1f; 82:4-6, 11-20). The twelve lunar months, by contrast, are six of them reckoned as thirty days long and six of them as 29 days long, making twice 177 or 354 days in all, and falling short of the length of the solar year by ten days (1 Enoch 74:13-16; 78:15f; 79:4f). A briefer and more polemical account, but essentially similar, is given by the Book of Jubilees (Jub. 6:23-38).

The more polemical note in Jubilees is easy to understand, since it was written after the Astronomical Book. The author of the Astronomical Book claims to have been shown the principles of his calendar by the angel Uriel, so it is presented as a revealed calendar, unlike the purely empirical calendars of those who watched for the new moons and the seasons. One could expect those who followed the latter practice to attack the pretensions of this rival calendar, and by attacking those who followed the moon Jubilees is probably only replying in kind. Even the Astronomical Book is not entirely without polemics, but it is the rough solar calendar of 360 days that it criticizes (1 Enoch 75:1f; 82:4-6), rather than the lunar calendar, which draws the fire of Jubilees.

Although 1 Enoch does not lay stress on the fact, a 364-day calendar consists of precisely 52 weeks (364 being exactly divisible by seven), with the result that in every year dates would fall on the same day of the week. It is very unlikely that the author of the Astronomical Book was ignorant of this fact, as has been suggested, since he does sometimes count in weeks: in 1 Enoch 79:4 (a passage which also survives in Aramaic) he measures six lunar months as 25 weeks and 2 days. It is even less likely that the author of Jubilees was ignorant of it, since he habitually measures time in sevens and lays great stress upon the weekly Sabbath rest. Indeed, he states explicitly that the year has exactly 52 weeks (Jub. 6:29-32). Moreover, as Mlle Annie Jaubert has pointed out (see below), the numerous dated events of the Book of Jubilees appear to have been dated on the principle that actions which can be construed as work must never be done on the Sabbath, which, if the year begins on Wednesday (the day in Creation-week when the heavenly luminaries were created), it never is. The texts from Qumran have since confirmed that, surprising as it may seem, the Essene year did indeed begin on Wednesday.

The solar year is conveniently tabulated, by Milik and others, in the following form:

Table I: THE QUMRAN YEAR

Day of the Week	Months: I, IV, VII and X					Months: II, V, VIII and XI					Months: III, VI, IX and XII				
4th (Wed)	1	8	15	22	29		6	13	20	27		4	11	18	25
5th (Thurs)	2	9	16	23	30		7	14	21	28		5	12	19	26
6th (Fri)	3	10	17	24		1	8	15	22	29		6	13	20	27
7th (Sabbath)	4	11	18	25		2	9	16	23	30		7	14	21	28
1st (Sun)	5	12	19	26		3	10	17	24		1	8	15	22	29
2nd (Mon)	6	13	20	27		4	11	18	25		2	9	16	23	30
3rd (Tues)	7	14	21	28		5	12	19	26		3	10	17	24	31

Before discussing this calendar further, we must put it in its context.

THE CALENDARS OF THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST

From the beginning of history, watchers of the heavens have been presented with three ways of measuring time. For short periods, there is the daily revolution of the sun, with the succession of light and darkness. For longer periods, there is the monthly waxing and waning of the moon. For very long periods, there are the annual seasons of the sun, with cold and heat, seedtime and harvest, the inundation and recession of rivers. The only problem was in correlating these phenomena. How many days were there in a month? This could be counted with some degree of accuracy. How many days were there in a year? This was harder to judge, because the markers were less precise. And how many *months* were there in a year? Apparently not an exact number—more than twelve, but less than thirteen. One could either content oneself with twelve, and add a thirteenth in some years but not others, or else substitute an artificial month of about thirty days, slightly longer than an actual month, as a twelfth of the solar year. Any greater precision than this involved pursuing astronomy as an exact science. And even to get this far was to make a beginning.

The earliest astronomers of the ancient world (apart, perhaps, from the Chinese) were those of Mesopotamia and Egypt, and, though the Jews do not appear to have practised astronomy themselves, to any significant degree, in the biblical or intertestamental period, they had important contacts, from a very early stage in their history, with the peoples of both regions. At a much later stage in their history, after the conquests of Alexander the Great in the latter part of the fourth century B.C., the Jews were brought into close

contact with the Greeks, who by that date had also become expert in astronomy.[1] It would be natural, therefore, if the Jews learned from these peoples a few of the results of astronomical study, without necessarily learning its methods, during the periods of their closest contact. Those periods are, of course, the period before the migration of Abraham from Ur, the period of the sojourn of Israel in Egypt, and the period from the Babylonian captivity onwards. When one remembers that, in Mesopotamia and Egypt, astronomical study and the calendars that resulted from it go back at least to the third millennium B.C., one recognizes the gratuitousness of the common assumption that all astronomical and calendrical influence from outside reflected in Jewish literature dates from the last of these three periods.

In Mesopotamia, from the third millennium B.C. onwards (and thus before the departure of Abraham from Ur), the basic type of calendar in use was governed by observation of the moon. Under the lunar calendar, the year consisted of about six 30-day months and about six 29-day months (totalling about 354 days), each month commencing when the crescent of the new moon was observed. The lunar calendar was brought into line with the solar year and its seasons from time to time, by the addition of a thirteenth month to the year. At first, this took place by a local decision of each city, whenever observation of the seasons and similar natural phenomena proved it to be necessary, i.e. every two to three years on average, and it was not until the fifth century B.C. that the 19-year astronomical cycle for determining leap-years by calculation was introduced at Babylon.

It has often been held that a rough solar calendar also was at one time in use in Mesopotamia, consisting of twelve 30-day months, and needing intercalation rather less frequently than the lunar calendar, every five to six years instead of every two to three. This calendar was afterwards found among the Persians, to judge from the tradition recorded by the mediaeval Moslem scholar Al-Biruni[2], and there are traces of it in Jewish literature also, as we shall see. Cohen disputes the existence of this calendar in Mesopotamia, rather questionably attributing years made up of 30-day

[1] On the calendars of the ancient near east, see O. E. Neugebauer, *The Exact Sciences in Antiquity* (2nd edn., Providence R I: Brown University Press, 1957); M. E. Cohen, *The Cultic Calendars of the Ancient Near East* (Bethesda Md: CDL Press, 1993); R. A. Parker, *The Calendars of Ancient Egypt* (Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 26, Chicago: The University Press, 1950); E. J. Bickerman and J. D. Schmidt, "Calendar III: Ancient Middle Eastern calendar systems," in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 15th edn, 1974; Fritz Hommel, George Foucart, H. J. Rose, and L. H. Gray, "Calendar (Babylonian), (Egyptian), (Greek), (Persian)" and W. J. Woodhouse, "Horae," in *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. 3 (1910), vol. 6 (1913). The last-named articles are still of some value, though dated.

[2] *The Chronology of Ancient Nations* (E. T., London: Allen, 1879), p. 13.

months to late observation of the new moon.[3] There is no doubt, however, that the prevailing form of calendar in Mesopotamia was lunar.

The seasons were normally reckoned in Mesopotamia as two, summer and winter (though in a few instances as four), and the new year was normally at the spring equinox (though in a few instances, it seems, at the autumnal equinox or summer solstice). Both equinoxes were much emphasized, as the beginnings of the hot and cold weather. The Semitic names of the months, used by the Jews since the Exile and found in the latest books of the Old Testament, were first developed at Nippur, and were standardized by the Babylonian kings.[4]

In Egypt, again as early as the third millennium B.C., no fewer than three calendars were in use, two of them lunar and one solar. Strictly speaking, the last named was stellar rather than solar, since the Egyptian year was measured by the reappearance of the dog-star on the horizon each July, coinciding with the high water of the Nile, but the stellar and solar years are in length almost identical. The stellar or solar year was reckoned as 365 days, and the calendar based on it consisted of twelve 30-day months, together with an annual supplement of five days. As there was no leap-year until the Ptolemaic reform of 238 B.C., which was not carried into practice for about another two hundred years, the calendar slowly diverged from the seasons. The lunar calendars, however, used an intercalary month every two to three years, as in Mesopotamia. The Egyptian calendars differed from the Mesopotamian in having different new years (related to the reappearance of the dog-star), different month-names, and three seasons, governed by the inundation, recession and low-water of the Nile.

The Persian year, not attested until the middle of the first millennium B.C., was similar to the Egyptian solar year, with twelve 30-day months and a 5-day supplement, but with different month-names, with a different new year, probably, and with only two seasons, summer and winter. After the Persian conquest of Babylonia in 539 B.C., the Persians used Babylonian calendars also.

The Greek year, first attested about 750 B.C. by Homer, was lunar, and, like other lunar years, was adjusted to the seasons by an intercalary month. The Greeks developed the 8-year cycle for determining leap years by calculation not later than the sixth century B.C. (allegedly the work of Cleostratus), and the more accurate 19-year cycle about the same time as the

[3] *The Cultic Calendars*, p. 4f. Obviously, if months are prolonged by late observation of the new moon, this shortens subsequent months.

[4] The four pre-exilic month-names found in the Pentateuch and 1 Kings (Abib, Ziv, Ethanim and Bul) are probably of Canaanite origin. A lunar calendar, going back to the third millennium B.C., beginning at the autumnal equinox, and using an occasional intercalary month, has now been discovered at Ebla in North Syria also: see "Calendars and Chemosh—some Information from Ebla", in *Buried History*, vol. 17:3 (Sept. 1981), pp. 5-12.

Babylonians in the fifth century B.C. (certainly the work of Meton, refined in the fourth century by Callippus and in the second by Hipparchus). The Greek month-names were, of course, Hellenic, and new year was observed in different Grecian states at the summer or winter solstice or at the autumnal equinox. The Greek year had four seasons (spring, summer, autumn and winter), first mentioned in a fragment of Alkman, dating from the seventh century B.C.

One other calendar, quite different from all these others, and supposedly of Amorite origin, must be mentioned. This is the Pentecontad Calendar, so called because its year is made up not of twelve months but of seven 50-day periods, together with a supplement of sixteen (or fifteen) days. Hildegard and Julius Lewy, who identified and reconstructed it, believe that it originated not later than the third millennium B.C., spread widely and continued in use until quite a late period, forms of it being found in Nestorianism and among the fellahin of modern Palestine.[5]

The Calendars of the Biblical and Intertestamental Literature

When one compares the evidence of the biblical literature about the year and the calendar with the evidence which we have just surveyed, one is immediately struck by the Mesopotamian character of the biblical material. Practically all the isolated similarities that one finds between the biblical material and the other groups of material are also found, all together, in the case of the Mesopotamian material. There are two new years in the Bible, at the start of the warm weather and at the start of the cold weather[6], much as in Mesopotamia. There are two seasons in the Bible, summer and winter (spring and autumn never being mentioned)[7], as in Mesopotamia. The post-exilic month-names, found in Zechariah, Ezra, Nehemiah and Esther, are Babylonian. The contrast with the Egyptian material, where new year is in

[5] See their essay "The Origin of the Week and the Oldest West Asiatic Calendar," in *Hebrew Union College Annual*, vol. 17 (1942-1943), pp. 1-152.

[6] When in the Bible the months are numbered, the first month seems always—at least from the Exodus onwards—to be Abib (Nisan), in the spring. In the Genesis Flood narrative, however, where there is rain from the second to the seventh month, the months may be numbered from Ethanim (Tishri), in the autumn. Elsewhere, an autumnal commencement of the year is quite often found, being reflected in other ways: see Gen. 26:12; Exod. 23:16; 34:22; Jer. 8:20; Amos 8:1-2 and the passages discussed in E. R. Thiele, *The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings* (2nd edn., Exeter: Paternoster Press, 1966), pp. 27-30. Also relevant, as dating from the biblical period, is the ancient Hebrew inscribed tablet known as the Gezer Calendar (c. 10th century B.C.), which begins its list of the months and their agricultural activities in the autumn.

[7] See esp. Gen. 8:22; Ps. 74:17; Isa. 18:6; Amos 3:15; Zech. 14:8, where summer and winter are mentioned together.

the middle of the summer, the month-names are quite distinct, and the seasons are three not two, is particularly striking. The statement made at the Exodus with regard to Abib (Nisan),

> This month shall be to you the beginning of months: it shall be the first month of the year to you (Exod. 12:2),

appears to be a conscious break with the new year of Egypt (which was not, indeed, easily practicable outside Egypt), and perhaps a reinstatement of one used by the patriarchs. The only two features of the biblical material which are not either original or Mesopotamian (the pre-exilic month-names and the 50-day period from the offering of the Sheaf to the feast of Pentecost) are, strikingly enough, not Egyptian either. The month-names are Canaanite, and the 50-day period is of similar origin, being suggested, probably, by the 50-day periods of the Amorite pentecontad calendar. Both of these could have been learnt by the patriarchs during their sojourn in Canaan, before their descent into Egypt.

Then again, the two Mesopotamian years (if one is right to think them such), one lunar and one solar, are found also in the Bible. Both are perhaps referred to in Gen. 1:14-16, where the sun and moon are placed in the sky "for signs and for seasons and for days and years", though this could simply be a reference to the lunar year, corrected from time to time by the sun. The lunar year is also referred to in Ps. 104:19, where we read that the Lord "appointed the moon for seasons", and in Ps. 89:37, where the moon is described as "the faithful witness in the sky". "Months" are mentioned in all books of the Pentateuch and throughout the Bible thereafter, and, as one of the words for "month" (first found in Exod. 2:2 and Deut. 21:13) is ירח, a cognate of ירח "moon", from which it differs only in vocalization, it is probable that the lunar month, and not the artificial solar month (a twelfth of the solar year), is normally implied. That the lunar year of the Bible is a year of 354 days is proved not only by its antecedents but by the fact that anyone who visually observed thirteen new moons in succession could count the days. That it is a lunar year of the Mesopotamian and not of the Egyptian type is shown, in particular, by its new years.

As to the solar year of 360 days, it is implied in the account of the Flood, where the five months from the 17th day of the second month to the 17th day of the seventh month are five 30-day months, totalling 150 days (Gen. 7:11, 24; 8:3-4). It is also implied in Dan. 12:7, 11, where 3½ "times", or years, equal 1290 days, i.e. forty two 30-day months (the extra month and a half of verse 12 not being included in the calculation) plus the intercalary month which needed to be added every five to six years, making forty three 30-day months in all. 3½ years is more than half this period of five to six years, so qualifies for the addition of the intercalary month: on the other hand, it is not

the whole of the period, so does not necessitate the addition. Consequently, when the 360-day year makes its final appearance in the Bible, in Rev. 11:2-3; 12:6,14; 13:5, the 3½ years equal only 42 months or 1260 days, without the intercalary month being added. The biblical solar year, like the biblical lunar year, may be Mesopotamian, but can hardly be Egyptian. Quite apart from the question of the new year, the Egyptian (or Persian) solar year, with its annual supplement of five days, does not fit the figures in either Daniel or Revelation. If the source is indeed Egyptian, the modifications have been considerable.

Similarly, both the lunar and the solar year, of the Mesopotamian type, are found in the deutero-canonical and intertestamental literature. The lunar year is followed in Ecclesiasticus (Sir. 43:6-7; 50:6 Heb.), Aristobulus (*apud* Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* 7:32:16-18) and the tragedian Ezekiel (*apud* Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 9:29), but is rejected in the Book of Jubilees (Jub. 6:36-38). The 360-day solar year is mentioned, but only to be rejected, in the Book of Enoch (1 Enoch 75:1-2; 82:4-6). It is alluded to more positively in 1 Enoch 74:10-11; Jub. 5:27, however, partly in deference to the Flood narrative, etc., and partly, perhaps, because it was a source of the 364-day solar year championed by 1 Enoch and Jubilees.

In the first century A.D., the lunar year is followed by Philo (*De Specialibus Legibus* 1:177; 2:140, 155, 210) and Josephus (*Antiquities* 3:10:3,5, or 3:240, 248), and was evidently the prevailing use among Pharisees, Sadducees and Samaritans alike. With regard to the Pharisees, not only the writings of the self-styled Pharisee Josephus but the rabbinical literature puts this beyond doubt. With regard to the Sadducees, a disagreement with the Pharisees is recorded in the Mishnah (Hagigah 2:4; Menahoth 10:3) concerning the dates of the Sheaf and Pentecost, arising out of different interpretations of the word "Sabbath" in Lev. 23:11, 15-16; but the Mishnah makes it clear that the Sadducean dates were in the same week as the Pharisaic, which they would not have been if both schools had not been using the lunar calendar. Much the same is the case with the Samaritans. They adhered to the lunar calendar[8], and the Tosephta (Tos. Pesahim 2:2) tells us that the Samaritans sometimes observed the Passover a

[8] On the Samaritan calendar, see Sylvia Powels, "The Samaritan Calendar and the Roots of Samaritan Chronology", in A. D. Crown, ed., *The Samaritans* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1989), pp. 691-742. It is true that, according to mediaeval report, the earliest of the Dositheans sects among the Samaritans insisted on a 30-day month, which would yield a rough solar year of 360 days (see S. J. Isser, *The Dositheans*, Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity 17, Leiden: Brill, 1976, pp. 91-93). This sect were rigorous legalists, who advanced various divergent (but not, on the whole, Essene) interpretations and applications of pentateuchal law, and probably based this one on Gen. 7:11, 24; 8:3-4. There is no reason to think that the Dositheans agreed with the Essene solar year of 364 days, and it is noteworthy that, in dating the Sheaf and Pentecost, the Dositheans calendar followed the same interpretation as the Pharisaic calendar, not the Essene.

day before the Jews, sometimes a day after them—the discrepancy was as little as that.

THE QUMRAN CALENDAR: ITS RELATIONSHIP TO THE OLD TESTAMENT

In the biblical and intertestamental period, the solar year of 364 days (as distinct from 360, or indeed from 365) is only found, explicitly at least, in the Astronomical Book of Enoch (1 En. 72-82), the Book of Jubilees and the Qumran literature. The interesting claim, however, is made by Mlle Annie Jaubert (followed by others) that this calendar is implicit in the Old Testament, and is to be regarded as an ancient priestly calendar which the Essenes continued to maintain when most Jews had abandoned it. Since two calendars are reflected in the Old Testament, there is no *a priori* reason why a third should not be. Moreover, in support of her thesis, Jaubert draws attention to the striking fact that the dates given to various events in the Old Testament, if interpreted according to the Essene calendar, are rarely Sabbaths but often (not always) Sundays, Wednesdays or Fridays. This would be the same phenomenon as she rightly detects in Jubilees. J. M. Baumgarten, however, has challenged her contention with regard to the Old Testament, and has shown that passages where journeys end on what would, in the Essene calendar, be Fridays can sometimes be equally well explained on a different hypothesis (as with Num. 10: 11, 33, where a "three days' journey" is a customary length for a long journey in the Old Testament, and Josh. 4:19, where the "tenth day of the first month" is the day when preparations for the Passover are commanded to be made); and sometimes the passage actually implies that the day was not a Friday (as with Exod. 16:1-30). He also points out the absurdity of appealing for support to the Flood narrative, where the period of five months from the 17th day of the second month to the 17th day of the seventh month would not, under the Essene calendar, total 150 days, as it does (Gen. 7:11, 24; 8:3-4): since the Essenes assigned 31 days to the third, sixth, ninth and twelfth months, and normally counted periods of days inclusively, not exclusively, the total under their calendar would have been 153 days.[9] We have seen that the Flood

[9] See A. Jaubert, "Le calendrier des Jubilés et de la secte de Qumrân. Ses origines bibliques," in *Vetus Testamentum*, vol. 3 (1953), pp. 250-264; *La date de la cène* (Paris: Gabalda, 1957), part 1, ch 2; J. M. Baumgarten, "The Calendar of the Book of Jubilees and the Bible," in *Tarbiz*, vol. 32 (1962), reproduced in his *Studies in Qumran Law* (Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity 24, Leiden: Brill, 1977), pp. 101-114. The Book of Jubilees frankly admits that the Bible equates the five months with 150 days (Jub 5:27), but the Qumran Genesis Pesher[a] (4Q 252) cannot be content with this, and by speculative exegesis conforms the account to the Essene calendar. On Jaubert's reconstruction of the Essene calendar, and the

narrative in fact reflects a different calendar, the (possibly Mesopotamian) calendar of 360 days, also used in Daniel and Revelation.

Jaubert's thesis with regard to the Old Testament presents further difficulties. One of these is that, when the lunar calendar appears in the Old Testament, it is often precisely in priestly, or cultic, contexts that it does so. Thus, it is hard to believe that Gen. 1:14-16 and Ps. 104:19 are referring simply to secular "seasons". Also, the word ירח (a cognate of ירח "moon") is used for "month" in connection with the building of the Temple and the celebration of the feast of Tabernacles there (1 Kgs. 6:37-38; 8:2). So it seems clear that the Essene calendar, even if it occurs in the Old Testament, is not the only priestly calendar that does.

Another difficulty is the implication that the Essenes tended to be a conservative movement, maintaining an ancient calendar which others had abandoned. In chapter 7, we shall find reason to think that they were a reforming movement rather than a conservative one, guided more by exegesis than by custom in their attempt to get back to a purer age.

Then again, one must consider the possibility that it is not the Old Testament dates that are derived from the Essene calendar, but the Essene calendar that is derived from the Old Testament dates! It is certainly a very striking fact that, interpreted by the Essene calendar, none of the Old Testament dates is a Sabbath except in week-long dates and (no doubt significantly) in the deutero-canonical books and the Book of Esther.[10] hThus, work never occurs in the Old Testament on an Essene Sabbath, unless those books are included in the Old Testament. Even when one has allowed for the fact that on many of these dates the events which take place might not have seemed to the Essenes unsuitable for the Sabbath, e.g. the word of God coming to a prophet, one is still left with a fair number of other

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confirmatory evidence from Qumran, see also J. T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery*, pp. 107-110.

[10] In Esther, Adar 14 (an Essene Sabbath) is the first day of the feast of Purim, and, before that, is the second of the two days on which the Jews gather themselves together to slay their enemies (Esth. 9:13-22). Apart from this, the only Essene Sabbaths even implicitly dated in the books of the Hebrew Bible are those inevitably included among the intermediate days of the week of Unleavened Bread and the week of Tabernacles (Lev. 23:6-8, 33-36, 39-43; Num. 28:17-25; 29:12-38) and of Daniel's 21 days of mourning, which evidently ran from Nisan 3 to 23 (Dan. 10:2-4, 12f). Having adopted the non-canonicity of Esther as a premiss of their calendar, the Essenes naturally had difficulties about its subsequent canonization which other schools did not, or not to the same extent (for a full discussion, see my *Old Testament Canon of the New Testament Church*, London: S.P.C.K., 1985, pp. 291-94). It is interesting, but probably not significant, that the author of the Qumran Temple Scroll makes his week-long Nisan new year festival overlap with Daniel's days of mourning (Temple Scroll 14-17). The author doubtless observed that Daniel continued mourning throughout the festivals of Passover and Unleavened Bread, perhaps on the principle that during the Exile the festivals ceased and were turned into mourning (Hos. 2:11; Amos 8:10), and therefore saw no inconsistency in making him mourn during the new year festival as well.

dated events, none of them falling on an Essene Sabbath. At this point, however, one must note that it is only because of a very odd feature of the Essene calendar that the situation is as it is. Though the Essene year consists of complete weeks (for 52 x 7 days = 364 days), and though the first day of the biblical week is Sunday, the Essene year begins on Wednesday. Hence also Essene chronology, though it is regularly carried back to Creation (in Jubilees etc.), has to start not at the beginning of Creation-week but in the middle of it. The rationalization of this is, of course, that the heavenly luminaries were not placed in the sky until the fourth day of the week (Gen. 1:14-19). Nevertheless, light was created, and day and night began, on the first day of the week (Gen. 1:1-5). One is therefore driven to ask: Would this remarkable avoidance of Sabbaths still obtain if the Essene year began, as would be more natural, on Sunday? The answer is, that it would not. The day of the Passover and the holy convocation at the end of the week of Unleavened Bread would then be Sabbaths, since they fall on Nisan 14 and 21 (Exod. 12:6; Lev. 23:5, 8; Num. 28:16, 25; Josh. 5:10; 2 Chron. 35:1; Ezra 6:19; Ezek. 45:21). Also, the building of the Second Temple would commence on a Sabbath, Elul 24 (Hag. 1:14-15), and would finish on a Sabbath, Adar 3 (Ezra 6:15). If, slightly less naturally, the Essene year began on Friday, the day of the creation of man, the Second Passover would be a Sabbath, since it falls on Iyyar 14 (Num. 9:11; 2 Chron. 30:15). Also, Solomon would send the people home from Jerusalem on a Sabbath, Tishri 23 (2 Chron. 7:10), the cleansing of the Temple under Hezekiah would finish on a Sabbath, Nisan 16 (2 Chron. 29:17), and such inauspicious events as the breach in the wall of Jerusalem and the burning of the First Temple at the hands of the Babylonians would take place on Sabbaths, Tammuz 9 and Ab 7 (2 Kgs. 25:3-4, 8; Jer. 39:2; 52: 6-7). It is only by fixing the beginning of the year on Wednesday, the day when the heavenly luminaries were created, that the Essene calendar avoids these inconveniences.

It may be wondered, incidentally, whether the Essenes would have objected to festivals falling on the Sabbath, as would have happened if the first day of their year had been a Sunday or a Friday. The answer, as J. M. Baumgarten points out, is that they probably would. The Essenes tried to keep the offering of sacrifices on the Sabbath to a minimum. This is hinted at in Jubilees 50: 10-11 and more clearly expressed in Damascus Document, CD, 11: 17-18. Only the regular daily and Sabbath sacrifices are to be offered on the Sabbath, not freewill offerings or occasional sacrifices. The Pharisees, so the Mishnah informs us, objected to private festal offerings being offered on the Sabbath (Hagigah 2:4; Temurah 2:1), but the Essenes evidently had scruples also about the public festal offerings being offered then. The tenth-century Karaite writer Kirkisani, in his famous account of the Jewish sects, says that this concern caused the Zadokites to extend the seven

days of Unleavened Bread and the eight days of Tabernacles by one day, not counting the weekly Sabbath, but keeping it as a day of rest[11], and it seems likely that in this instance he is referring to the Essenes, led by the "sons of Zadok", rather than the Sadducees.

The reason for this was no doubt the Essenes' extreme, even fanatical, concern for the Sabbath rest, over which, Josephus tells us, they were stricter than other Jews (*War* 2:8:9, or 2:147). Being a primarily priestly group, they would be acutely aware that the priests in the Temple had to "profane the Sabbath", and they evidently thought it right to minimize the anomaly.

But if it is only because they have a doctrinaire year of 364 days, in which all dates fall on the same day of the week every year, and because they adopt the device of making the year begin on the fourth and not the first day of the week, that the advocates of the Qumran calendar are able to clear the Old Testament from any suspicion of allowing "work" to be done on the Sabbath, it surely follows that what we are dealing with is a very ingenious piece of exegesis, and not the original meaning of the Old Testament books. This calendar is not one which has left clear historical traces on the Old Testament (as the lunar and the rough solar calendar have done, because they were actually in use when the Old Testament books were written), but rather one which a later interpreter was able to find hidden in the same body of literature, because he was sufficiently determined and searched for long enough.

We know from the Qumran biblical commentaries or *pesharim* that some very curious interpretations are not infrequently adopted, in order to relate biblical prophecies to the Essene community. We also know that the type of revelation which was claimed at Qumran was not additional revelation but a revelation of the true meaning of the Old Testament Scriptures (Community Rule, 1Q S, 5:8f; Damascus Document, CD, 3:12-16; Habakkuk Commentary, 1Q p Hab, 2:6-10; 7:4f.). Perhaps the calendar of Enoch, which was revealed by the angel Uriel, was the earliest example of these revealed interpretations of Scripture: its perfect regularity was probably its own recommendation, but by searching the Scriptures, and listing the dates on which "work" was done, its framer discovered that these dates need never be Sabbaths if the year began on Wednesday, which was, after all, the day on which the sun and moon were created. Then, when the author of the Astronomical Book had shaped his calendar round the events of the Old Testament, the author of Jubilees reversed the process and shaped the events of *his* book round the revealed calendar.

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[11] See Leon Nemoy, "Al-Qirqisani's Account of the Jewish Sects and Christianity", in *Hebrew Union College Annual*, vol. 7 (1930), p. 363.

THE ORIGIN AND RATIONALE OF THE QUMRAN CALENDAR

But if the calendar of Enoch is not really reflected in the Old Testament, and if it has no previous history outside Israel either (as we have seen that it has not, in Mesopotamia or Egypt, Persia or Greece), then it was probably devised in Israel in the intertestamental period, and may very well have been devised by the author of the Astronomical Book himself. When he did this would depend on the date when his book was written. The old dating in the second century B.C. seems, in view of the age of the Aramaic manuscripts, to be too late, and so it belongs to the period of the proto-Essene movement rather than of the separate Essene party, which apparently emerged, together with the Pharisaic and Sadducean parties, at the time of Jonathan Maccabaeus.[12] The proto-Essene movement, according to the chronology of the Book of Dreams in 1 Enoch, appears to have begun about 251 B.C. (pp. 176-177); and who would have been better qualified to begin it than the inventive thinker who produced the Astronomical Book? The first draft of his book, setting out his calendar, can therefore be tentatively dated at the middle of the third century B.C.

An intertestamental date is supported by the extreme scrupulousness about the Sabbath rest that the calendar seems to reflect, a scrupulousness even to the point of hampering the worship of God, for which the Sabbath existed. Such extreme scrupulousness was characteristic of the Essenes (see Josephus, *War* 2:8:9, or 2:147-49), and in a different way of the Pharisees, but is not so characteristic of the Old Testament, definite though the Old Testament is on the Sabbath rest. This makes is probable that the calendar was not inherited by the proto-Essene movement, but was created by that movement.

An intertestamental date is also supported by the signs of Greek influence on the calendar. It was from the Greek calendar, probably, that it borrowed its four seasons (1 Enoch 82:4, 11, 13-20; 4Q Astronomical Enoch^{d} 1:1).[13] These replace the biblical two, to which the Book of Watchers—very likely by a different author or authors than the Astronomical Book—quite naturally reverts (1 Enoch 2:2 - 5:2). Other likely marks of a knowledge of the Greek calendar have been pointed out by R. H. Charles. The reference to an occasional 28-day lunar month in 1 Enoch 78:9 may reflect some

[12] The first appearance of the three parties in history comes in the high priesthood of Jonathan Maccabaeus (Josephus, *Antiquities* 13:5:9, or 13:171-73), that is, between 152 and 142 B.C. The Mishnah traces the succession of the Pharisees back to much the same period (Hagigah 2:2; Aboth 1:3-15), as Jacob Neusner points out in his book *The Rabbinic Traditions about the Pharisees before 70* (Leiden: Brill, 1971), vol. 3, p. 306f; and the history of the Essenes has been plausibly reconstructed from Qumran data as also commencing at about this era (for example by J. T. Milik, in his *Ten Years of Discovery*, ch. 3).

[13] For the additional 4Q fragments, see J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, p. 297f.

acquaintance with the cycle of Callippus, which omitted a day from one lunar month in 76 years; and the selection of periods of three, five and eight years in 1 Enoch 74:13-16, for totalling up the number of days they contain, may reflect an acquaintance with (and a rejection of) the Greek 8-year cycle, which added an intercalary month in the third, fifth and eighth years.[14] There is no adequate reason to think that such features were added by the Greek translator, as J. T. Milik suggests (*The Books of Enoch*, p 293)[15], and the four seasons cannot have been, since (quite apart from the Semitic character of ch 82) they are basic to the structure of the calendar, with its extra day after every third month (1 Enoch 72:13, 19, 25, 31; 82:4, 11). Now, influence from the Greek calendar, and especially from late features of the Greek calendar, would not be likely until after the conquests of Alexander the Great, which took place only about eighty years before the beginning of the proto-Essene movement, and not, of course, far back in the biblical period.

Again, a striking characteristic of the Essene calendar is its concern for numerical symmetry, precision and regularity. The Essenes were fascinated by numbers, as is shown also by their chronological texts, in which they try to date all important events from the creation onwards, and expect events to occur at regular intervals (see ch. 8). The same outlook is seen in their calendar, where the year consists of an exact number of days (1 Enoch 72:32) and an exact number of weeks (Jubilees 6:30), where each of the four seasons is of precisely equal length (1 Enoch 82:15, 18), and where the year will always agree with the sun and stars and never be a day out even unto eternity (1 Enoch 74:12). Where numbers are concerned, symmetry, precision and regularity were the Essene ideals and goals. It was characteristic, therefore, that the Essenes produced a fixed calendar, for, once symmetry has been achieved, it must be preserved. A short year, plus an occasional extra month, such as one finds in the two calendars criticised by the Essenes (1 Enoch 75:1-2; 82:4-6; Jubilees 6:36-38), savoured of imprecision and irregularity. Yet these are the two calendars definitely reflected in the Old Testament! One is therefore bound to ask why the Essene calendar shows such a preoccupation with arithmetic, if the Old Testament and its calendars do not? The most likely answer seems to be that, after the conquests of Alexander, the Essenes had had some contact, however superficial, with Greek mathematics. Their exceptionally strong

[14] See Charles, *The Book of Enoch* (2nd edn., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912), *ad loca.*

[15] He is speaking of 1 Enoch 78:9. An Aramaic MS includes verse 10 and a tiny fragment of text preceding it, containing the word "years", not in the Ethiopic of verse 9. However, since the Aramaic of the Astronomical Book was certainly much fuller than the Ethiopic, as the Qumran discoveries demonstrate, there is no reason to suppose that verse 9 of the Ethiopic was unrepresented in the Aramaic.

doctrine of predestination (see Josephus, *Antiquities* 13:5:9, or 13:171f; 18:1:5, or 18:18) then did the rest. Every seventh day from the creation onwards had been sanctified in advance as a Sabbath; every 364th day from the world's first Nisan 14 and Siwan 15 had been sanctified in advance as a Passover and a Pentecost respectively, and so on. It is this that allows Jubilees to trace the observance of the Mosaic festivals far back into the patriarchal period (Jubilees 6:17-22; 16:20-31; 18:18-19, etc.), and it is this that makes the observance of other calendars definitely sinful (1 Enoch 82:4), for the effect of doing so is to "make an abominable day the day of testimony, and an unclean day a feast day" and to "confound all the days, the holy with the unclean and the unclean with the holy" (Jubilees 6:37).[16]

Thus, it appears that the calendar of Enoch arose in Jewish circles that had to some degree been influenced by the Greek calendar and probably by Greek arithmetic, which at this early period, well before the syncretizing efforts of the high priests Jeshua-Jason and Menalaus (from 175 B.C. onwards) and the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes, need not cause surprise. Hellenization was still gradual, and not yet controversial. The Book of Watchers reflects Greek influence[17], and there is no reason why the Astronomical Book should not. It was probably drawn up in priestly circles, since it is there that questions of the calendar would be most acute, and, what is more, in circles where there was great anxiety about work on the Sabbath (even the offering of sacrifice on the Sabbath) and a strong belief in predestination. Such circles could only be Essene or proto-Essene, and in view of the early date would have to be proto-Essene.

The natural model for the proto-Essene movement to follow, in its quest for a fixed calendar, was the Egyptian or Persian solar year of 365 days. By the middle of the third century B.C., however, the Egyptian year had been in use for so long that, though only ¼ day too short, it diverged widely from the seasons. This would have been a deterrent to imitators, even if they were unable to understand the nature of the error or the reason for it; and since a

[16] Why Babylonian mathematics did not produce the same attitude among Jews in the biblical period (whether because of differences between Babylonian mathematics and Greek, or between biblical predestinarianism and Essene) is a question worth exploring, but one which cannot be explored here.

[17] It has often been pointed out that there is marked Greek influence (though not Greek only) in chs 17-19. R. H. Charles describes them as "full of Greek elements" (*The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913, vol. 2, p. 199). T. F. Glasson has pointed out two other significant examples (*Greek Influence in Jewish Eschatology*, Biblical Monographs 1, London: S.P.C.K., 1961, pp. 8-19). Enoch's journey to the underworld in ch. 22 could have been suggested by Odysseus's journey there in books 10-11 of Homer's *Odyssey* (c. 750 B.C.); and the division in the underworld, which the same chapter makes, between a place for the righteous and place(s) for sinners, appears to be found in Greek literature as early as the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter* (7th century B.C.), *ad finem*. See also Martin Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism* (E.T., London: SCM, 1974), vol. 1, p. 197f.

year of 365 days had the further disadvantage of not being exactly divisible into 52 weeks or 4 seasons, it is not surprising that the proto-Essene movement fixed on a different number of days, which was so divisible. In any case, since the calendar governed sacred days and seasons, they may well have been unwilling to adopt a foreign calendar, and if so this left them no alternative but to begin from the native lunar and rough solar calendars, critical of those calendars though they were. They must have known that the Jewish 354-day year had to be intercalated by the third year, and that the Jewish 360-day year had to be intercalated by the sixth year[18], and that the average number of days in a year was therefore 364 (3 x 354 = 1062, plus 30 = 1092, divided by 3 = 364) or 365 (6 x 360 = 2160, plus 30 = 2190, divided by 6 = 365). But since 365 appeared to be wrong, for the reasons stated above, the right number had to be 364.

This was a natural conclusion for the proto-Essene movement to draw, especially before the year 238 B.C., when Ptolemy Euergetes I issued his famous Decree of Canopus, effectively rectifying the discrepancy in the Egyptian solar (or stellar) year by adding a day to every fourth year. Whether, after that date, the proto-Essene movement would have been so likely to conclude that the year was shorter, not longer, than 365 days, may reasonably be doubted; but at the period when they drew this conclusion, they were ready to affirm it in the face of anything Greek or Egyptian astronomers might say to the contrary[19], and, having reached such a decision, they adhered to it. The fact that the Decree was not implemented for another two centuries may have made this easier.

There is, however, another and stronger indication that the 364-day calendar did not arise right at the end of the third century B.C., but rather earlier. This is that by the time the Astronomical Book was completed (probably within the third century B.C.), and by the time the Book of Watchers was written (very little, if at all, after the third century), the authors had reconciled themselves to the unpalatable discovery that the 364-day year did not, in fact, agree with the natural phenomena, and they had started offering theological explanations of the discrepancy. They would hardly have been likely to concede the existence of the anomaly before the natural phenomena began occurring a month later than the calendar said they should, and more probably not before they began occurring two months later. Now, a year that is 1¼ days too short would develop a one-month discrepancy in 24 years and a two-month discrepancy in 48 years; and 48 years before the

[18] Although, to correct it completely, the 354-day year occasionally needed intercalating before the third year and the 360-day year before the sixth, the third and sixth years respectively were normal.

[19] This is shown by the knowledge which the Astronomical Book seems to reflect of the Greek 8-year cycle and cycle of Callippus, both based upon a solar year of about 365¼ days.

end of the third century B.C. takes one back to 248 B.C., only about three years after the recorded commencement of the proto-Essene movement. It seems likely, therefore, that the 364-day calendar was one of the earliest institutions of that movement, which, after using it for about half a century, was forced to acknowledge that the seasons, the crops and the revolutions of the heavenly bodies had fallen well behind the calendar, and sought to explain the fact as a judgement on the sins of mankind (1 Enoch 80:2-8, from the Astronomical Book) and as an effect of the wickedness of those angels to whom the guidance of the heavenly bodies was committed (1 Enoch 18:13-15, from the Book of Watchers).

The Astronomical Book expresses it like this:

2. And in the days of the sinners the years shall be shortened
(i.e. cut short in number, though extended in length),
And their seed shall be tardy on their lands and fields,
And all things on the earth shall alter,
And shall not appear in their time;
And the rain shall be kept back,
And the heaven shall withold it.
3. And in those times the fruits of the earth shall be backward,
And shall not grow in their time,
And the fruits of the trees shall be withheld in their time.
4. And the moon shall alter her order,
And not appear at her time.
5. And in those days the heaven shall be seen and hunger shall come
On the extremity of the great chariot in the west,
And it shall shine more brightly than accords with the order of light.
6. And many chiefs of the stars shall transgress the order,
And these shall alter their orbits and tasks,
And not appear at the seasons prescribed to them.
7. And the whole order of the stars shall be concealed from the sinners,
And the thoughts of those on the earth shall err concerning them,
And they shall be altered from all their ways,
Yea, they shall err and take them to be gods.
8. And evil shall be multiplied upon them,
And punishment shall come upon them
So as to destroy all
(1 Enoch 80:2-8, Charles's translation, without his emendations).

The Book of Watchers expresses it this way:

13. I saw there seven stars like great burning mountains, and to me, when I enquired regarding them, 14. the angel said: "This place is the end of heaven and earth: this has become a prison for the stars and the host of heaven. 15. And the stars which roll over the fire are they which have transgressed the commandment of the Lord in the beginning of their rising, because they did not come forth at their appointed times" (1 Enoch 18:13-15, Charles's translation).

If, however, the calendar of Enoch had been in use for half a century before 1 Enoch 80:2-8 was written, it follows that the calendar must have originated in an earlier edition of the Astronomical Book, or in a different book now lost, or in a non-literary form. Since 1 Enoch 80:2-8 is a self-contained unit, the first of these explanations is the simplest. The disappearance of an influential work, which was the real origin of the calendar, would be surprising, and a non-literary origin would be more characteristic of the Pharisaic and proto-Pharisaic tradition than of the Essene and proto-Essene.

If it be asked how the deviser of the Essene calendar reconciled it with the Old Testament, the probable answer is that he did it somewhat arbitrarily. The most explicit reference to a different calendar in the Old Testament is in the Flood narrative, where five months are equated with 150 days, as is freely conceded in Jubilees 5:27. The fixed month of 30 days, here reflected, doubtless appealed to the proto-Essene and Essene movements, with their love of numerical symmetry. However, one could not build up a year of 364 days out of nothing but 30-day months. The deviser of the calendar of Enoch therefore intercalated four days *between* the months, at the turn of the seasons, rather than *adding* them to four of the months (1 Enoch 82:4), and seems to have argued that, because they were intercalated between the months, it was possible (though not normal) to total up the days of the months without them; for he describes them as "the four days which are not reckoned in the reckoning of the year" (1 Enoch 75:1; see also 1 Enoch 74:10-11).

The Further Development of the Qumran Calendar

After the Astronomical Book, the next Essene text that touches on the calendar is the Book of Watchers. We have already seen how this book recognizes that the revolution of the heavenly bodies had fallen behind the calendar and attempts to explain the fact theologically (1 Enoch 18:13-15). It also begins the polemic against the lunar calendar which comes to full expression in Jubilees.

What the Book of Watchers says is that "Arakiel taught the signs of the earth, Shamshiel the signs of the sun and Sariel the course of the moon" (1 Enoch 8:3). The subject is the evil skills which the fallen angels taught to their human wives and so to mankind. That this is substantially the original text is confirmed by two of the Aramaic fragments[20], but the noun before "moon" is not extant, and whereas the Ethiopic has "course", the Greek (Syncellus) has "signs". "Course", however, is the preferable reading, as it could easily have been changed into "signs"' by assimilation to the other two

[20] See Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, pp. 157-161, 170-75.

phrases, whereas the opposite change would not be easy to explain. Arakiel and Shamshiel, therefore, taught the reading of omens, but Sariel the course of the moon. And it was studying the course of the moon that was the prime cause of error about the calendar, according to this school of thought: as Jubilees puts it,

> There will be those who will assuredly make observations of the moon—now it disturbeth the seasons and cometh in from year to year ten days too soon. For this reason the years will come upon them when they will disturb the order, and make an abominable day the day of testimony, and an unclean day a feast day, and they will confound all the days... (Jub. 6: 36-37, Charles's translation).

We will have to look more carefully at the Essene attitude to the moon later on.

Another development in Jubilees is that in the course of its narrative several (though not all) of the holy days of the Law of Moses are anticipated, as first practised in the patriarchal period. This is done with Passover (Jub. 17:15 - 18:19), Pentecost (Jub. 6:17-22; 14:10, 20; 15:1; 16:13; 22:1; 28:15; 29:7; 44:3-5), the Day of Atonement (Jub. 5:17f; 34:18f) and Tabernacles (Jub. 16:20-31; 32:4-7, 27-29). It is not done with the Sheaf, curiously, though the Qumran date for the Sheaf (Nisan 26), on which much else depends, is implied in the date of Pentecost. Particular emphasis is laid upon Pentecost, which is the occasion of all covenants (including also the covenant of Sinai, Jub. 1:1-4, cp. Ex. 24) and which was perhaps the Essenes' chief festival, as it was with the related Therapeutae (see Philo, *De Vita Contemplativa* 65). The feast of Trumpets or Rosh ha-Shanah is also anticipated, though it is handled in a unique way.

What is done is that four of the new moons are given additional dignity in Jubilees as "days of remembrance" (Jub. 6:23-29). They are the new moons of the first, fourth, seventh and tenth months. The third of these is, of course, the feast of Trumpets, which is described in Lev. 23:24 as a "memorial" of blowing of trumpets, and hence the name "days of remembrance". But why does Jubilees apply this name to the other three new moons as well? The more general language of Num. 10:10 allows for it, but the specific reason is in all probability because they are the new moons immediately following the four Essene quarter days, on which such stress is laid in the Astronomical Book (1 Enoch 75:1f; 82:4-6, 11-14).

It is the Astronomical Book which makes room for Jubilees to anticipate the Mosaic holy days, by ensuring that the dates recorded in the Old Testament (including the dates of holy days) do not fall on Sabbaths. But the Astronomical Book does not seem itself to have included an explicit account of holy days, even in its fuller form. The translation "festivals" in 1 Enoch

82:7, 9, which might hint at something of the kind, is rendered doubtful by one of the Aramaic fragments.[21]

The final development which we find in Jubilees is the calculation of the jubilee-year. It is certain from the rabbinical literature that the Pharisees did not observe the jubilee year, and did not believe that it had been observed since before the Exile (Mishnah, Arakhin 7:1; 9:1; Siphra, Be-Har 2:3; Seder Olam Rabbah). The Essenes, on the other hand, in their sectarian communities did observe it (Community Rule, 1Q S, 10:6-8). The question is, Did they observe it because it had always been observed in certain circles, and they were a traditionalist movement maintaining its observance, or did they observe it because it had ceased to be observed, and they were a reforming movement reviving its observance? As has already been said (p. 102), the latter would be more in character; and if the jubilee year had always been observed in certain circles, the identification of the year would not have been a problem. In fact, it does seem to have been a problem, and one of the main purposes of the chronological writings of the Essenes was apparently to establish which the jubilee-year was (see pp. 249-251). The chronology of the Essenes was somewhat faulty, as we now know (see ch 8), and cannot be based upon a continuous record of jubilees which had been maintained since the Exile. Nevertheless, if their calendar was to restore the observance of the jubilee-year, and not in an arbitrary way, chronology was certainly needed, and the Book of Jubilees laid the foundation, by going right back to Creation, and calculating the jubilees from Creation to the Entry into the promised land, while other Essene texts carried on the calculations down to their own day.

The next developments made to the sectarian calendar are those made by the Cave 11 Temple Scroll. Following the suggestion of Ezek. 45:18-20, it adds a spring new year festival, to match the autumnal Rosh ha-Shanah, and continues it for seven (or possibly eight) days, during which priests are consecrated, on the model of Exod. 29:1-37; 40:1-16 (Temple Scroll 14:9 - 17:5). It also supplements the Sheaf and Pentecost with other firstfruits festivals, suggested by the fact that the priests are entitled to firstfruits of oil and wine, as well as of corn (Num. 18:12; Deut. 18:4; 2 Chron. 31:5). Pentecost, the firstfruits of wheat, followed the Sheaf, the firstfruits of barley, at an interval of seven weeks (Lev. 23:15f), so the feast of New Wine is established seven weeks after Pentecost, and the feast of New Oil seven weeks after New Wine (Temple Scroll 18-23). Whatever nature might say, the symmetry of the Essene calendar had to be maintained! And a hint may on this occasion have been taken from the Pentecontad Calendar (see p. 98) as well.

[21] See Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, p. 295.

The law requiring wood for the altar (Lev. 6:12f; Neh. 10:34; 13:31) is treated in a somewhat different way. Since this is to be offered "according to our fathers' houses", Temple Scroll 23-25 provides for the twelve tribes to offer it in pairs. They could not do this at further seven-week intervals, since the year was not long enough, so they do it on successive days in the week or so remaining after the feast of New Oil and before the commencement of the next group of holy days, on the first day of the seventh month.

The Temple Scroll brings the Qumran calendar to its most complete form. Interestingly, in this form the four "days of remembrance" from Jubilees seem to have been dropped, leaving only the two new year festivals and the new moons.[22]

Developments of other kinds are the reconciliation of this calendar with the moon (begun in the Astronomical Book itself), and with the sequence of the 24 priestly courses. These developments call for separate examination.

The Qumran Calendar and the Moon

The lunar calendars of the ancient world, in Mesopotamia and Egypt no less than in Israel, originally operated by observation and not by calculation. All study of the heavens begins with observation, and observed phenomena are the foundation on which calculation is later based, and by which it has to be checked. The Mishnah tells us that in Israel the new moon was still proclaimed only when witnesses reported having seen it (Rosh ha-Shanah 1-3), and since the New Moon was a festival of the Old Testament Law (Num. 10:10; 28:11), and other dated holy days depended upon it, the day appointed for the New Moon was a matter of religious significance.

The month was controlled by the moon, but the year was controlled by the sun. And in this lay a problem. For the seasons showed that the year did not consist of an exact number of months. Twelve lunar months were evidently somewhat less than a solar year. What, then, does one do? Does one carry on with twelve months in one's year until it is sufficiently ahead of the sun as to show that in the current year a thirteenth month needs to be added? Or does one ignore the moon and substitute a slightly longer month which will keep the year in line with the sun, and so make all years the same length? The former course was that followed by the Pharisees and Sadducees, and the latter course was evidently that followed by the author of the Astronomical Book.

[22] For a fuller examination of the calendar of the Temple Scroll, see the writer's article "The Temple Scroll and its Calendar: their Character and Purpose", in *Revue de Qumran*, forthcoming. The extra firstfruits festivals seem also to have been known to the Therapeutae, a group related to the Essenes, who held festivals "every seven weeks" (see Philo, *De Vita Contemplativa* 65).

He had the help of the rough solar calendar of 360 days. This calendar was a first step in the direction which he thought it right to go, but it did not solve the problem, since it still needed an occasional thirteenth month, though less frequently than the lunar calendar. Twelve 30-day months was better than alternate months of 29 and 30 days, but a few more days were needed as well—four more, so he estimated. He compared his findings with the Scriptures, as they were known to him, guided (as he believed) by an angel, and then made his calendar public in the circles where he moved, as the revealed solar calendar which would not need to change from year to year.

His claims for his calendar naturally got him into controversy, and we have seen that his followers who wrote the Book of Watchers and the Book of Jubilees strongly criticise the adherents of the lunar calendar. Probably they had been criticized themselves for disregarding the observable new moons, and then, rather perversely, claiming supernatural sanction for doing so. Recently, however, attention has increasingly been directed to the fact that this school of thought, in their own calculations, did not ignore the moon altogether. J. T. Milik, in his publication of the Aramaic fragments of Enoch from Cave 4 of Qumran, has included fragments of a "Synchronistic Calendar", absent from the Ethiopic version of 1 Enoch, and apparently directed towards reconciling the lunar month with the solar year[23]; J. M. Baumgarten, in his study of the Qumran manuscript 4Q 503 (Daily Prayers), has shown that this work is probably a practical liturgical application of the same synchronization;[24] and various writers, most recently and fully J. E. Fossum, have pointed out the close links, and even possible identity, between the Essenes and the Magharians, an early sect who paid special attention to the full moon.[25] As a result, scholars have started asking whether the disagreement of the Essenes with the lunar calendar of the Pharisees was more apparent than real, and E. J. Bickerman has gone so far as to conclude that the Qumran community was not in agreement with Jubilees on the calendar, and that the whole question of its calendrical views needs to be explored afresh.[26]

It has, of course, always been known that the Essene calendar did not simply ignore the moon. In view of Gen. 1: 14-16 and Pss. 89: 35-37; 104:19, and also of the relation between the biblical words ירח (month) and ירח (moon), its champions had no option but to give the moon some degree

[23] *The Books of Enoch*, pp. 274-284.

[24] "4Q 503 (Daily Prayers) and the Lunar Calendar", in *Revue de Qumran*, vol. XII, no. 47 (Dec. 1986), pp. 399-407.

[25] "The Magharians: a pre-Christian Jewish Sect and its Significance for the Study of Gnosticism and Christianity", in *Henoch*, vol. 9 (1987), pp. 303-344.

[26] "Calendars and Chronology", in W. D. Davies and L. Finkelstein, edd. *The Cambridge History of Judaism*, vol. I (Cambridge: The University Press, 1984), p. 68.

of attention. In the Astronomical Book (1 Enoch 72-82), the oldest source of the Essene calendar, chapters 73 and 74 and much of chapters 78 and 79 are devoted to the moon. The main burden of these chapters is to say that twelve lunar months consist of six which are thirty days long and six which are twenty-nine days long, making 354 days in all; that this is six days less than the rough solar year of 360 days, and ten days less than the exact solar year of 364 days; and that the figures of 354 days for the moon and 364 years for the sun are so exact that in multiples of years the difference between the lunar year and the solar year is unchanging—ten days in one year, thirty days in three years, fifty days in five years and eighty days in eight years. As 1 Enoch 74:12 expresses it,

> the sun and the stars (and the moon) bring in all the years exactly, so that they do not advance or delay their position by a single day unto eternity; but complete the years with perfect justice in 364 days (Charles's translation).

This treatment of the moon is really just an apologetic for the solar calendar, and the question that now arises is whether the Ethiopic version disguises a more positive attitude to the moon in the underlying Aramaic, or Aramaic and Greek, text. Certainly the Aramaic, and possibly also the Greek, of the Astronomical Book was much fuller than the Ethiopic, where chapter 82 clearly lacks something at the end, and where some other chapters are so condensed as to be hardly intelligible. Milik tells us that not one Aramaic fragment fully corresponds to the Ethiopic text of chapters 72-75: instead, the Aramaic contains the Synchronistic Calendar, which in one manuscript extended to at least 27 columns. And what is significant about this material is not only its length, but the fact that it collates statements about the movements of the moon with statements about the movements of the sun and stars over a period of twelve months.[27]

1 Enoch 72 gives a very clear account of the Essene solar year. The year begins and ends at the equinox, when 9 parts of day are equalled by 9 parts of night (v 32), and it rapidly becomes apparent that this is the spring equinox, not the autumnal equinox, since the day is lengthening, not shortening, in the three months preceding and following it (vv 6-14, 27-32). There are six "gates", or parts of the horizon, in which the sun rises and sets as the year progresses (v 3), and these correspond to the twelve months, the order of the gates being 4th, 5th, 6th, 6th, 5th, 4th, 3rd, 2nd, 1st, 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and the turning points being the equinoxes and solstices (*passim*). For the first three months the day lengthens by one part each month, until it is twice the length of the night, 12 parts against 6 (this, of course, is the summer solstice); for the next three months the day shortens by one part each month until day and night are equal again (this, of course, is the autumnal

[27] *The Books of Enoch*, p. 274f.

equinox); for the next three months the night lengthens by one part each month until it is twice the length of the day, 12 parts against 6 (this, of course, is the winter solstice); and for the final three months (bringing us back to the spring equinox), the night shortens by one part each month until night and day are again equal (*passim*). The months are of 30 days each, except for the third, sixth, ninth and twelfth, which have 31 days (*passim*), so the total number of days in the solar year is 364 (v 32).

The corresponding part of the Aramaic original appears to have been much longer, and to have included lunar dates as well, in what Milik calls the "Synchronistic Calendar". The fragments of the oldest Aramaic MS of this part (4Q Astronomical Enoch[a]) have not been published, simply described,[28] but another Aramaic MS (4Q Astronomical Enoch[b]), which has been published, shows its character. On each day of the month, the moon, as it waxes, increases by one fourteenth until it is full, and then, as it wanes, it decreases by one fourteenth until it disappears. It is full on the moon's fourteenth day, and in 30-day lunar months on the moon's fifteenth day also, and then begins to wane. On the last two days of the lunar month, whether 29-day or 30-day months, it is invisible.[29] To set out these developments, on a daily basis, for twelve months, was obviously very laborious, and to include the solar months, which were of different length, in the same document, must have complicated the task, so it is hardly surprising that the translator separates out the solar material, and then simply summarizes the lunar material. The account of the winter solstice in 1 Enoch 72:25-27, and that in fragment 7, column 3 of the Aramaic manuscript[30], provide a good point of comparison. They are clearly connected, but the former text supplies solar information exclusively, whereas the latter supplies lunar information as well. It indicates that by this stage in the year the lunar month is eight days ahead of the solar month, which at the end of the ninth solar month is what one would expect if the solar and lunar year had begun together.[31]

Three other manuscripts of a synchronistic character, containing both solar and lunar material, have now been published, 4Q 317, 4Q 320 and 4Q

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[28] See Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, p. 273.

[29] It is not clear from 1 Enoch 78:6-8 whether, in 30-day lunar months, the moon goes on waxing for fourteen or for fifteen days: if the latter, it would take an extra day to wane as well, making two extra days in all. The dates in fragments 4-7 of 4Q Astronomical Enoch[b] show that there is only one extra day involved, which means that the moon waxes for fourteen days only, but then stays full for a second day before waning.

[30] See Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, pp. 279-281; F. García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated* (E.T., Leiden: Brill, 1994), p. 447.

[31] Since the Essene solar year is of 364 days and the Essene lunar year of 354 days, 10 days less, by the time the former is three-quarters elapsed the latter will be three-quarters of 10 days ahead, i.e. seven or eight days. One would expect the solar and lunar year to begin together, since sun and moon were both created on the fourth day of Creation-week, Wednesday, from which the Qumran year commences.

321.[32] These are written in Hebrew, and they considerably amplify our knowledge, by extending their calculations beyond a single year. 4Q 317 is rather like a continuation of the synchronistic material in 1 Enoch, but written in a cryptic script. 4Q 320 and 321 date the ends of the lunar months according to the solar calendar throughout the periods that the fragments cover, 4Q 321 adding an intermediate date each time as well.[33] The two manuscripts also record which of the 24 priestly courses was on duty at each point, and consequently extend their calculations to six years, which was the length of the Qumran cycle for priestly courses; but this is a topic to which we will return later.

4Q 320 contains the beginning of the first year of the cycle, and makes it plain that the lunar months followed the order 29 days, 30 days, not the reverse, and that the first lunar month began on the 2nd day of the first solar month, so as to reach day 29 on the 30th day of the solar month. This is no doubt explained by the fact that the sun appears by day and the moon by night, and if one is giving priority to the sun, but is nevertheless following the common Jewish reckoning of the day from nightfall to nightfall, the first night of the month will come after the first day, and will technically be the beginning of the second day.[34] The order 29 days, 30 days, continues undisturbed until the last month of the third year, when the 30th day of the 36th lunar month falls on the 2nd day of the 36th solar month. 4Q 320 breaks off at this point, but 4Q 321 makes it clear that a second 30-day lunar month is now added, so that the lunar months can begin again in year 4 from

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[32] See García Martínez, *op. cit.*, pp. 451-55; R. Eisenman and M. Wise, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered* (Shaftesbury: Element Books, 1992), pp. 109-119. The latter edition includes much more of 4Q 321, as well as providing texts of the originals. The other includes more of 4Q 320 and part of 4Q 317.

[33] The intermediate date is called דיקה, "precision" (this is Milik's interpretation, strongly advocated by Michael Wise in ch. 6 of his book *Thunder in Gemini*, JSPSS 15, Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1994). In García Martínez its role is left obscure, but Eisenman and Wise render it "lunar observation", and suppose that on this date the men of Qumran checked their figures empirically, so as to be equipped to answer the Pharisees, whose calendar was guided by observation. This makes good sense, but is probably not correct, for two reasons. First, the theoretical lunar dates of the Essenes were too imprecise to be checked empirically. Secondly, four of the intermediate dates are on Sabbaths, when lunar observation would probably have been forbidden by the Essenes as unlawful work. More likely, since the numerical system used at Qumran was very cumbrous (see the originals of 4Q 318, 320, 559, in Eisenman and Wise, pp. 92f, 116-18, 261f), the writer is checking his calculation of the ends of the months by calculating an intermediate date as well. Why he chooses the date he does, 13 days before the end of a lunar month, 16 or 17 days after the end of one, is hard to say, but this is probably his purpose. Michael Wise supposes that the date is the full moon, which could be the case if the two days when the moon is invisible were assigned to the beginning of the lunar month, but it is very clear from 4Q Astronomical Enoch that they were assigned to the end of it.

[34] 1 Enoch 73:4 had been thought to say that the first phase of the new moon comes forth on the 30th (solar) morning, but it no doubt means the 30th *lunar* morning. Since the new moon appears in the evening, it comes forth in the morning in order to appear in the evening, and the evening is the beginning of another day (the first lunar or second solar day).

the same day as in year 1. The result is that, when 4Q 321 gets to the last month of the sixth year, the 30th day of the lunar month again falls on the 2nd day of the solar month, and the same device is presumably employed once more.[35]

4Q 321 states explicitly that at the end of the third year, when the twelfth solar month and the extra lunar month conclude, the priestly course of Shecaniah is on duty, and it is easy to calculate that at the end of the sixth year the priestly course of Gamul would be on duty. Eisenman and Wise are therefore in all probability right to conclude that in another text, where the "sign", (אות) of Shecaniah and the "sign" of Gamul alternate at three-year intervals over a period of seven jubilees, the reference is to the reconciliation of the lunar and solar year by the extra 30-day lunar month every three years. This manuscript is called by Eisenman and Wise 4Q 319A, but it is now recognized to be part of 4Q 259, a text of the Community Rule, otherwise called 4Q Rule of the Community[e].[36] Evidently the reconciliation of the lunar and solar year was assumed to be precise, otherwise it could not have been extended over such an enormous period.

Whether it was the author of the Astronomical Book of Enoch himself who devised this three-yearly reconciliation is uncertain, since his own synchronisms appear to have been extended only to a single year.[37] For longer periods, he contents himself with pointing out the accumulating discrepancy between the solar and lunar years, and says nothing about their reconciliation. Since the lowest common multiple of 364 and 354 is 64,428, the solar and lunar years, as the Essenes measured them, could not be truly reconciled until that number of days had elapsed, which means, not for 177 solar years, which are the equivalent, in days, of 182 lunar years. Whether the author of the Astronomical Book had worked this out, we do not know, but he certainly extends his calculation of the discrepancy beyond three years, telling us that in five years it amounts to fifty days and in eight years to eighty days (1 Enoch 74:10-16). If it was being reconciled every three years, by which time it amounted to only thirty days, he could hardly say this, so it seems likely that the three-yearly reconciliation is a refinement made by later Essene thinkers. It was an inconsistent refinement (however convenient), for if the lunar months are alternately 29 and 30 days long, an

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[35] If the alternation of 29-day and 30-day months had continued undisturbed, a 30-day month would now be due, so the only *extra* 30-day month is the one at the end of the third year. This means that only one day is added in six years.

[36] See Eisenman and Wise, pp. 128-133; García Martínez, pp. 26-29. This text is further discussed on pp. 122-125.

[37] See Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, pp. 273-75. Elsewhere, on pp. 61ff, he seems inclined to think differently, and draws attention to the extent of Enoch's calendrical work according to Jub. 4:18. However, R. H. Charles (*ad loc*) compares Jub. 7:37ff; 21:10, as similar examples of crediting to "Enoch" the work of his followers.

added month of 30 days after three years ought to be followed by one of 29 days after six years, and so on: otherwise, one is gaining an extra day every six years. By adding a day to one lunar year in six, their scheme had the effect of slightly increasing the average length of the Essene lunar year, from 354 to 354 1/6 days. It did not, of course, affect the length of the Essene solar year.

Now, whichever length for the Essene lunar year one follows, whether 354 or 354 1/6 days, it is inaccurate. The lunar year is really about 354 1/3 days long. So, after 24 years the moon would be appearing about eight days late on the former count and about four days late on the latter count. In 48 years, this discrepancy would be doubled. 1 Enoch 80 shows that the Essenes were aware of the discrepancy. For, besides speaking of the seed-crops and rains and fruit-crops arriving late, and the stars not returning to the same position in the heavens at the proper season (verses 2,3,6), which would be the effect of having too short a solar year, it says, "And the moon shall alter her order, and not appear at her time" (verse 4), which would be the effect of having too short a lunar year. And the Essenes, with their solar year of 364 days and their lunar year of 354 or 354 1/6 days, erred in both respects. By this stage it was evidently becoming clear to them that their calendar and its synchronisms were purely theoretical, even though they held that it was only the sins of men and angels that had made them so.

If, however, the Synchronistic Calendar was purely theoretical, how could it be applied to practical liturgy in the way that it evidently is in the interesting manuscript published by Maurice Baillet in volume 7 of *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*[38] and discussed by J. M. Baumgarten in his thought-provoking article mentioned earlier?[39] Three possibilities suggest themselves:

(I) The text is an early one, since the manuscript is dated by its editor between 100 and 75 B.C. Possibly the original from which this manuscript was copied was composed before the impracticability of the Synchronistic Calendar had been fully appreciated.

(II) Alternatively, the text could be a defiant assertion of the Synchronistic Calendar, assigning the phases of the moon not to the days on which they were actually appearing but to the days on which, according to the calendar, they ought to appear.

(III) A third possibility is that this is a liturgy for future and not contemporary use. It would not be the only such work in the Qumran library, and it would be designed for use in the "Week of Righteousness" (1 Enoch 91:13) after the present "Era of Wickedness"

[38] Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982, pp. 104-136.
[39] See p. 114 and note 24.

had come to an end. The Essenes so intensely expected the fulfilment of the prophecies of Scripture that they made practical preparations for the time when they would be fulfilled. In the Week of Righteousness, God's judgement would doubtless be withdrawn and the sinful angels restrained, so the heavenly bodies could then be expected to appear once more on time.

And what of the Magharians, who were fascinated by the full moon? There does seem to have been a definite relationship between their ideas and those of the Essenes, and it was they, not the Essenes, as is sometimes supposed[40], who began their months from the full moon rather than the new moon. But their calendar, being an adaptation of the Essene calendar, seems equally to have been based on calculation rather than observation, and to be concerned with theoretical, rather than empirical, full moons.[41]

To sum up, since the Essene lunar year, no less than the Essene solar year, was theoretical, and since (whether measured as exactly 354 days or as 354 ⅙ days) it was imprecise, and since the intercalation of an extra lunar day which the Essenes practised was designed to reconcile their lunar year with their theoretical solar year and not with the observed phenomena of nature, it was completely unlike the empirical lunar year of the Pharisees. Consequently, what we know about the Essene lunar year does not in fact cast doubt on the theoretical character of their calendar, but further confirms it.

Table II: COMPARATIVE COMPUTATIONS

Number of Years	Lunar Year of Enoch 74	Lunar Year of 4Q 320,321	True Lunar Year	Solar Year of 1 Enoch 74	Rough Solar Year of 1 Enoch 74	True Solar Year
One	354	354	354 1/4	364	360	365¼
Three	1062	1063	1063	1092	(1080)	1095¾
Five	1770	1771	1771 2/4	1820	1800	1826¼
Eight	2832	(2833)	2834 2/4	2912	(2910)	2922

THE QUMRAN CALENDAR AND THE PRIESTLY COURSES

It has already been shown, on pp. 89-92 of the preceding chapter, that the men of Qumran adapted the 24 priestly courses of 1 Chronicles 24 to their

[40] The evidence against the idea that the Essenes themselves began their months from the full moon is set out by Michael Wise in *Thunder in Gemini*, ch. 6.

[41] For a full examination of the Magharian calendar, see the writer's article "The Essene Calendar and the Moon: a Reconsideration", in *Revue de Qumran*, vol. XV, no. 59 (March 1992).

calendar by means of a six-year cycle, in which each of the courses performed its week-long duties thirteen times (for 6 x 52 weeks = 13 x 24 weeks = 312 weeks). The first of the courses, Jehoiarib, came on duty at the autumnal new year, on the first Sabbath of the seventh month, in the first year of the cycle, and the last of the courses, Maaziah, came off duty on the same day six years later. The one-year cycle in use in the Temple began likewise with Jehoiarib at the autumnal new year.

The Qumran cycle is set out in a number of published manuscripts. All of them have an additional purpose, and, presumably for this reason, they begin in the first month rather than the seventh month, the first month being the new year for most purposes at Qumran. 4Q 325, the published fragments of which are confined to the first year of the cycle, is also a list of holy days, which it is normal to list from the first month onwards, as in Leviticus 23 and Numbers 28-29.[42] 4Q 320 and 321, which extend to the whole six years of the cycle, are again lists of holy days as well, and in addition are reconciliations with the lunar year in the last month of every third year.[43] 4Q 322-24, which likewise extends to the whole six years of the cycle, is also a list of new moons, holy days and historical events, all of which it is normal to list from the first month onwards.[44] 4Q 259, which extends to seven jubilees, is also a reconciliation with the lunar year at the end of every third year of that long period.[45]

Several of the texts date the Sabbaths on which the priestly courses come on duty throughout the cycle, and note the courses serving at the time of the various holy days each year. It seems from 4Q 322-24 that the courses served at Qumran in a more than theoretical way (even if they conducted prayers rather than sacrifices there), for the historical events commemorated are distributed through the different years of the cycle, although the same dates on the same days of the week occur every year, the only difference being which priestly course was then on duty in the year in question. This was evidently a significant fact, which did not exist simply on paper. If we could accurately date the events commemorated, therefore, we would know in which years of the priestly cycle these dates fell.[46] Michael Wise has discussed this question, and concludes that certain events in 63 B.C. probably fell in the last year of the six-year cycle.[47]

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[42] For 4Q 325, see Eisenman and Wise, p. 127f.

[43] For 4Q 320 and 321, see Eisenman and Wise, pp. 109-119; García Martínez, pp. 452-55.

[44] For 4Q 322-24 (called 4Q 323-324 A-B), see Eisenman and Wise, pp. 119-127.

[45] For 4Q 259, see Eisenman and Wise, pp. 128-133 (called 4Q 319A); García Martínez, pp. 26-29.

[46] Compare the way the priestly course on duty is used as a mark of date in the saying of Rabbi Jose, discussed on pp. 83-88 in the previous chapter.

[47] *Thunder in Gemini*, ch. 5.

It is clear from 4Q 320 and 321 that the courses actually serving at the beginning of the first month of each of the six years (as distinguished from those coming on duty on the first Sabbath of the month) are Gamul, Jedaiah, Mijamin, Shecaniah, Jeshebeab and Happizzez, the 22nd, 2nd, 6th, 10th, 14th and 18th courses. As the year begins on a Wednesday, but the priestly courses serve from Sabbath to Sabbath, it is clear that the same course would be serving at the end of the twelfth month of the previous year. It follows that, according to the Qumran scheme, one or other of these six courses would be on duty at the beginning and end of every single year, back to the time that the priestly courses were instituted. This would include sabbatical years and jubilee years, which for Qumran seem to have begun in the first month, not the seventh (see note 62 on p. 132). At the end of the third year, Shecaniah (who commences the fourth year) would be on duty, and at the end of the sixth and last year Gamul (who commences the first year) would be on duty. These are the points at which the solar and lunar years are reconciled, and 4Q 259 calls them the "sign of Shecaniah" and the "sign of Gamul".

Table III: THE SIX-YEAR CYCLE

Date	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4	Year 5	Year 6
Wednesday Nisan 1	Course 22 *Gamul* continues	Course 2 *Jedaiah* continues	Course 6 *Mijamin* continues	Course 10 *Shecaniah* continues	Course 14 *Jeshebeab* continues	Course 18 *Happizzez* continues
Saturday Tishri 4	Course 1 *Jehoiarib* commences (Course 24 Maaziah concludes)	Course 5 Malchijah commences	Course 9 Jeshua commences	Course 13 Huppah commences	Course 17 Hezir commences	Course 21 Jachin commences
Tuesday Adar 31			"Sign" of *Shecaniah* (final solar = extra lunar day)			"Sign" of *Gamul*

In 4Q 259 a reconciliation of the six-year cycle with the year-weeks and jubilees is worked out. The Qumran jubilee, as in the Book of Jubilees, is 49 years long. A reconciliation cannot be worked out in one jubilee, for 49 is not divisible by 6, and the text extends its calculations to seven jubilees—six to effect the reconciliation (for 6 x 49 years = 49 x 6 years), and a seventh to show the sequence beginning again. The six jubilees seem to be named after the courses which begin the six years of the cycle, and in the same order: Gamul, Jedaiah, Mijamin, Shecaniah, Jeshebeab, Happizzez. Three of the

names are extant in the manuscript.[48] The first jubilee is not extant in the manuscript, but it would be the same as the seventh. Eisenman and Wise regard the first extant jubilee (the second) as the beginning of the manuscript, and draw attention to the broken word הבריאה "the creation" at the outset of this jubilee (line 11), as indicating that the second jubilee, despite its name, began from the creation. This would be strange, especially as there is certainly a "first" jubilee after the creation in the Book of Jubilees (Jub. 3:34). It should be noted that the same word "the creation" occurs at the end of the second or beginning of the third jubilee also, in a similarly broken context (line 17), so their inference from the presence of the word is open to doubt; and we now know that the second jubilee does not in fact begin the manuscript, but begins the fifth surviving column of a manuscript containing the Community Rule (4Q Rule of the Community[e]). The fourth column is almost entirely lost, and no doubt contained the first jubilee. The presence of the word "the creation" at the beginning of the second and third jubilees may have been part of a statement that they were the second and third *counting from the creation,* not from the institution of the priestly courses by David and Solomon; and in this case the word would probably have occurred at the beginning of the first jubilee also.

Although 4Q 259 numbers the years from the beginning of every year-week, and not continuously throughout the jubilee, the years in which a "sign" of reconciliation of the solar and lunar years occurs are every third year from year 2 of the (seventh or) first jubilee, from year 1 of the second jubilee, from year 3 of the third jubilee, from year 2 of the fourth jubilee, from year 1 of the fifth jubilee, and from year 3 of the sixth jubilee, according to the number of years left over at the end of the previous jubilee. 4Q 259 counts the number of "signs" in each jubilee (sixteen or seventeen) and the number of them that fall in a sabbatical year (two or three).[49] Some confusion in the count is caused by the "sign of the conclusion" of each jubilee. If, as in jubilees 2 and 5, there is a "sign" in the last year of the jubilee, then that is the "sign of the conclusion" of the jubilee. If not, the "sign" in the first or second year of the next jubilee is sometimes the "sign of the conclusion" of the jubilee just ended. In the third jubilee, it is correctly not counted among the "signs" properly belonging to the jubilee, but in the

[48] Eisenman and Wise (p. 129f) interpret the reference to Jeshebeab in column 6, line 19, not as the name of the fifth jubilee but as the course serving when it ends. However, since it ends with the "sign" of Gamul, this is impossible.

[49] Garcia Martinez, following Milik (*The Books of Enoch*, pp. 61ff), interprets the text as counting the number of years left over between the sabbatical year and the end of the jubilee, not the number of "signs" in the course of the jubilee. However, there are sometimes no years left over, but the same form of language is still used; and why should the years left over be called "signs"? So the other interpretation, which is that of Eisenman and Wise, certainly makes better sense.

fourth jubilee it is, while in the sixth and seventh jubilee the confusion is avoided by making the last "sign" properly belonging to the jubilee into the "sign of the conclusion" of the jubilee, although it is not in the last year.

What remains unexplained is (i) that there is a "sign" (the sign of Shecaniah) at the end of the second, not the third, year of the first jubilee, to reconcile the solar and lunar year, and (ii) that the first jubilee does not begin with the first of the 24 priestly courses, Jehoiarib, as one might expect. If Shecaniah is on duty at the end of the second year from the creation, then Mijamin will be on duty at the end of the first year, and Jedaiah at the beginning of that year.

The explanation of the second fact may be that the sequence of the priestly courses, in six-yearly cycles, really begins from their institution by David and Solomon, and that to use the same names for the "signs" and jubilees back to the creation was mainly a convenience.[50]

Moreover, since Jehoiarib came on duty at the autumnal new year (see p. 89), but the creation took place, according to the Book of Jubilees, at the spring new year (see p. 132, note), there was bound to be a gap of six months. Jehoiarib had notionally to come on duty either six months before the creation or six months after the creation, and Qumran evidently decided on the former.

The first fact is much more problematical. Since the sun and moon were created together on the Wednesday of Creation-week, which was the first day of the first year, the discrepancy between them would by the end of the second year amount to only twenty days. Why, then, do they need a thirty-day month to reconcile them? A purely conjectural answer might be based on the statement in 1 Enoch 78:9 that "once" the lunar month has or had 28 days (not 29 or 30). The hint for this may have been taken from a knowledge of the occasional 28-day month in the cycle of Callippus, as R. H. Charles points out (*The Book of Enoch, ad loc*), but to introduce it into the Qumran calendar at any other point than the beginning of history would have badly disrupted their precise calculations. 364 is exactly divisible by 28, so if the first two years after the creation had wholly consisted of 28-day lunar months, each year would have comprised twelve solar months and thirteen lunar months, and no discrepancy would have arisen until the third year. To

[50] The course of Jehoiarib regularly came on duty at the autumnal new year, at the beginning of the seventh month in the first year of the six-year cycle (see pp. 89-91), and it was perhaps considered to have done so for the first time in the jubilee year just preceding the dedication of Solomon's Temple. According to standard Qumran chronology, sixty jubilees had by this time elapsed since the creation (see pp. 222-223), so the cycle of six jubilees had been completed ten times and was ready to begin again with the new jubilee. That being so, and bearing in mind that the beginning of the six-year cycle preceded the beginning of six-jubilee cycle by one year, the course of Jehoiarib would have come on duty for the first time at the autumnal new year in the preceding, or jubilee, year.

speak of the "sign of Shecaniah" in the second year would then just be a way of saying that the solar and lunar years were reconciled. Of course, we do not actually have the text of the first jubilee, which might have been very illuminating: we are simply inferring what it would have said from the seventh jubilee.

Table IV: THE SIX-JUBILEE CYCLE

Jubilee Name	1. Gamul	2. Jedaiah	3. Mijamin	4. Shecaniah	5. Jeshebeab	6. Happizzez
Number of Signs	16	17	16	(16)	17	16
Sign Years	2-47	1-49	3-48	2-47	1-49	3-48
Number of Signs in sabbatical years	2	3	2	2	3	2
Course Serving at Outset	Jedaiah	Mijamin	Shecaniah	Jeshebeab	Happizzez	Gamul

Since the men of Qumran showed complete confidence that, when their 364-day year had been repeated six times, the seven-day weeks of priestly service would still be as precisely aligned with it as they were at the beginning, and the cycle could begin again; and since they showed equal confidence that, when the six-year cycle had been repeated 49 times, over a period of six jubilees, the same would still be true; it surely cannot reasonably be doubted that they believed their year to be absolutely accurate, and meant what they said when they asserted that it was.

THE QUESTION OF INTERCALATION

Ever since it was realized that the 364-day solar calendar of 1 Enoch and Jubilees was actually observed in practice at Qumran—a realization which dawned quite early in the study of the Dead Sea Scrolls, and became general in the course of the 1950s—repeated conjectures have been offered of ways in which the 364-day year could have been supplemented to bring it into line with reality. As we now know, a 364-day year is about 1¼ days too short and, since the year is continually repeated and any discrepancy is cumulative, after 24 years the new year would be coming about a month early, after 48 years about two months, and so on. After a century it would be coming about four months early. In a calendar which was devised and introduced in the middle of the third century B.C., the new year would by the middle of the first century A.D. have revolved through all the seasons and got back to the point from which it began.

If this is the alternative, it is hardly surprising that hypotheses should have abounded. Among these suggestions are the following.

1. As long ago as 1930, Solomon Zeitlin pointed out that the jubilee, or fiftieth year, seems not to have been observed as a twelve-month period under the second Temple. He therefore conjectured that it was in fact observed as a period of 49 days intercalated after the Day of Atonement every 49th year. This would have the effect of roughly reconciling the 364-day calendar with the true solar year of approximately 365¼ days.[51] S. B. Hoenig has expressed support for Zeitlin's view, postulating the observance of this method of intercalation at a very early period, and interpreting Lev. 25:8 as saying, "And the days of the seven weeks of years, forty-nine, shall be for thee a year".[52]
2. Mlle Annie Jaubert has adduced possible rabbinical evidence for a different system—the intercalation of 35 days after every 28 years. This would reconcile the discrepancy almost exactly.[53]
3. E. R. Leach has proposed a more complicated method of intercalation. According to this theory, the seventh or sabbatical year and the fiftieth or jubilee year both consisted of a mere seven days. Leach thinks it incredible that there could have been an actual cessation of agricultural labour for twelve months. The sabbatical "year" was intercalated into the seventh year, by doubling the length of the feast of Tabernacles, while the jubilee year was intercalated into the 49th year, after the Day of Atonement. A further ten days was effectively intercalated on the latter occasion, by returning to the beginning of the month, after the jubilee was over, and numbering the days from the 1st once again. A total of 59 days would thus be intercalated every 49 years, nearly reconciling the 364-day year with the true solar year.[54]
4. J. T. Milik admits that the sources supply us with no evidence of the way in which the 364-day year was reconciled with the true solar year, but he tentatively suggests that an intercalary month was added every 24 years, thus achieving an almost exact conformity with the true reckoning.[55]

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[51] "Notes relatives au calendrier juif", in *Revue des Etudes Juives*, vol. 89 (1930), pp. 349-359, and elsewhere.

[52] "Sabbatical Years and the Year of Jubilee", in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. 59 (1968-69), pp. 222-236, and elsewhere.

[53] *La date de la cène*, appendix II.

[54] "A Possible Method of Intercalation for the Calendar of the Book of Jubilees", in *Vetus Testamentum*, vol. 7 (1957), pp. 392-97.

[55] *Ten Years of Discovery*, p. 110.

5. Ernst Kutsch draws attention to the undoubted fact that the four quarters of the Qumran year were intended to begin at the equinoxes and the solstices (1 Enoch 72): and what he envisages is an annual alignment with the summer and winter solstices of the first day of the two relevant quarters. The year would thus never get out of line with the sun.[56]
6. A. R. C. Leaney adopts a suggestion of Michel Testuz that seven days were added at the end of every seventh year and an extra seven at the end of every twenty-eighth year. This would have the same effect as method No. 2 and would, over the whole period, reconcile the 364-day with the true solar year almost exactly.[57]
7. Jean Carmignac thought it more likely that the extra seven were added to the forty-ninth year (the Essene jubilee year) rather than to the twenty-eighth. This would establish an approximate reconciliation.[58]

The foregoing list does not include every method of intercalation which has been proposed, but it is a sufficiently varied selection. It will have been noted that no method claims more than the most tenuous historical evidence in its support, and that the majority are frankly conjectural. The sources do, however, supply a number of facts which are highly relevant for an assessment of the various methods listed, and it is to these facts that we must now direct our attention, relating them to the particular methods on which they bear.

Before doing so, it should be noted in general that the Essene literature does not object to intercalation provided that it is regular, and not, like that of the contemporary lunar calendar, somewhat unpredictable. As we have seen, the Essene solar calendar itself intercalates one day after each quarter of the year, and the Essene lunar calendar intercalates one day in each six-year cycle. The above proposals, likewise, concern regular intercalation. There are two differences, however. One difference is that the Essenes explain and even emphasize such intercalation as they practise, which is bound to cast doubt on hypothetical intercalation about which they are completely silent. The other difference is that the sorts of intercalation that the Essenes practise are designed to bring other reckonings into line with their solar year of 364 days, not into line with the scientific solar year of about 365¼ days.

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[56] "Die Solstitien im Kalendar des Jubiläenbuches und in Äth-Henoch 72", in *Vetus Testamentum*, vol. 12 (1962), pp. 205-07.

[57] *The Rule of Qumran and its Meaning* (London: SCM, 1966), p. 85. Also M. Testuz, *Les idées religieuses du livre des Jubilés* (Geneva: Droz, 1960), p. 127f.

[58] Carmignac was too modest to publish his suggestion, but he allowed Hans Burgmann to do so, alongside a theory of his own, in his article, "Die Interkalation in den sieben Jahrwochen des Sonnenkalenders", in *Revue de Qumran*, vol. X, no. 37 (Sept. 1979), pp. 79-81.

Analysing and comparing the seven methods, one observes that they propose intercalation every year, every seven years, every half-century, or at other intervals, or a combination of these.

Method No. 5 is an annual method of intercalation. Such a method is at once confronted with the basic fact that the year on which Qumran insisted was a 364-day year, and it is hard to see how they could have insisted on this if they in fact intercalated every year to bring it up to 365 or 366 days. Should it be conjectured that an imperfect observance of the solstices caused a few years to remain at 364 days, such an error would not have allowed periods of several years to be reckoned as multiples of 364 days. Yet this is what we find in 1 Enoch 74, where the number of days in periods of three, five and eight years is given, and in each case the number is a multiple of 364. Thus, in v 13 we read that "in eight years there are 2,912 days". The chapter underlines what it is saying by stating the numerical difference between its own computation of the days in periods of three, five and eight years, and the number of days in corresponding periods of lunar years. In each case the difference is a multiple of ten days, the lunar year being a year of 354 days, with the result that the moon falls behind the 364 days of the sun to the amount of ten days in one year and of multiples of ten days in periods of more than one year. Thus, in vv 15-16 of ch. 74 we read that

> for the moon the days in eight years amount to 2,832 days. For in eight years she falls behind (the sun) to the amount of eighty days, all the days she falls behind in eight years are eighty (Charles's translation).

But such calculations are quite inconsistent with the hypothesis of an annual alignment of the calendar with the solstices (and the Essenes' later inclusion of one extra lunar day in a six-year cycle would make no significant difference to the figures).

Methods Nos. 3, 6 and 7 involve intercalation every seven years, and the same evidence conflicts with these. If seven days were intercalated every seven years, then the number of days in any period of eight years would not be 2912 but 2919, and the number of days that the moon would fall behind the sun would not be 80 but 87. Testuz suggests that, as the seven intercalated days come at the end of the year in method No. 6, they would be between the years rather than within them, and so would not necessarily conflict with the fixed year of 364 days. A kind of parallel might be drawn with the way the four intercalated days in every year (the last days of the four seasons, which bring the annual total of days in twelve 30-day months up from 360 to 364) are occasionally ignored in the calculations of Jubilees and 1 Enoch (Jub. 5:27; 1 Enoch 74:10a, 11). On the other hand, the Qumran school is obliged to make some concession to the rough solar year of twelve 30-day months, if only because that year is a sourceof their own 364-day year, and because it has biblical support from Gen. 7:11, 24; 8:3-4

(cp. Jub. 5:27). But they are not obliged to make any concession to theories of twentieth-century origin.

Method No. 3 is faced with additional difficulties. The intercalation of seven days in the seventh year could not be achieved by doubling the length of the feast of Tabernacles, since the Book of Jubilees makes a special point of the fact that the feast of Tabernacles consists of eight days, not seven.[59] The necessary intercalation could be achieved by adding a week to the feast but not by doubling its length. Again, if the sabbatical or seventh year consisted of only seven days, these ought to be intercalated into the sixth full year, not into the seventh. But there is in fact abundant evidence both from the Old Testament and from later literature that the sabbatical year consisted of a great deal more than seven days. It is represented as a Sabbath among the years comparable to the Sabbath among the days of the week: both are "a Sabbath unto the Lord" and "a Sabbath of solemn rest" (cp. Lev. 25: 2,4 with Lev. 23:3; for the comparison see also Exod. 23:10-12; Philo, *De Specialibus Legibus* 2:86; *De Praemiis et Poenis* 155f; *Hypothetica* 7:12-20; Josephus, *War* 1:2:4, or 1:60; *Antiquities* 3:12:3, or 3:281; 13:8:1, or 13:234). During the sabbatical year sowing, reaping, vine-pruning and grape-gathering, which together cover many months, are all prohibited, and the produce of the field, the vineyard and the oliveyard, which is harvested at different times of the year, is all assigned to the poor (Exod. 23:10-11; Lev. 25:4-6). The anticipated fear that famine will result, and God's consequent promise to make special provision in the sixth year (Lev. 25: 20-22), show that no trivial period is envisaged, and the actual privation that the observance of the sabbatical year caused during sieges in the second and first centuries B.C. is attested both by the First Book of Maccabees and by Josephus (1 Macc. 6: 49, 53-54; Josephus, *Antiquities* 12:9:5, or 12:378; 14:16:2, or 14:475; 15:1:2, or 15:7). Josephus further cites an edict of Julius Caesar, remitting the tribute of every seventh year because it is the sabbatical year (*Antiquities* 14:10:6, or 14:202, 206), and this can only mean that it was a real year. Philo certainly views it as a real year, for he speaks in this connection of the complete freedom of the land "during the whole annual cycle" (σύμπαντα τὸν τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ κύκλον) in *De Specialibus Legibus* 2:97.

[59] Jubilees 32:27-29, where the language is very emphatic. This is based upon Lev. 23:36, 39; Num. 29:35-38. Earlier in the same chapter of Jubilees (vv 4-7) and elsewhere in the book (ch. 16, vv 20-31) we read of the first seven days of the feast of Tabernacles. This is based upon the same chapters of Leviticus and Numbers and upon the Book of Deuteronomy (Lev. 23:34, 36, 39-42; Num. 29:12; Deut. 16:13, 15), where the expression "seven days" perhaps just means "a week", while the exact number of days is eight, as Num. 29 makes very clear. The author of Jubilees, with his precise mind, calls the seven days "The Feast" and the eighth day "Addition".

The tractate Shebiith in the Mishnah tells the same story.[60] It is true that the Essenes would not have regarded themselves as bound by common Jewish belief and practice, but they undoubtedly regarded themselves as bound by Old Testament Law, and the significant thing about their interpretation of the Law, as compared with other contemporary interpretations, is not its greater leniency but its greater stringency.

Nor is one dependent on mere inference; for the fact that eight years in the Qumran calendar amount to 2912 days, or eight periods of 364 days (1 Enoch 74: 13-16), inevitably means that one of those periods of 364 days is the seventh or sabbatical year. Moreover, the Book of Jubilees locates various events in sabbatical years, dating some of them according to the month and day. We thus learn that in a sabbatical year the following dates occur: the 21st day of the first month, the 17th and 27th days of the second month, the 1st, 13th and 15th days of the third month, the 10th day of the seventh month, and the 11th day of the nine month (Jub. 5: 31 - 6: 1; 29: 5, 7, 13; 34: 10-12). This further confirms that we are dealing with a period of twelve months, not of seven days.

Method No. 3 also involves intercalation every half-century. It assigns the same brevity to the jubilee-year as it does to the sabbatical year, which is at least consistent, for both in the Old Testament and in later literature the two are closely bound up together. Sowing, reaping, vine-pruning and grape-gathering are prohibited in both (Lev. 25: 4-5,11); the laws concerning them are grouped together in Leviticus 25; Philo, *De Specialibus Legibus*, *De Virtutibus* and *Quaestiones et Solutiones in Genesin*, bk. 3; and Josephus, *Antiquities* 3:12:3, or 3:281-86; and the connection is further drawn out in different ways in each of these places. Thus, in Leviticus 25 the promise of provision in the sabbatical year (vv 20-22) comes in the middle of the law of the year of jubilee; in Josephus the law of the cancellation of debts (Deut. 15: 1-11; Neh. 10: 31) is transferred from the sabbatical year to the jubilee-year; while in Philo the connection between the two is explicitly asserted:

> the measures taken in the seventh year are repeated (in the jubilee-year), but he (Moses) adds others even greater (*De Virtutibus* 100)

and

> while laying down this first foundation of moderation and humanity (in the law of the sabbatical year), he built upon it by adding years to the number of seven times seven, and consecrated the whole of the fiftieth year. This he made the subject of many special enactments, as well as those which are common to sabbatical years (*De Specialibus Legibus* 2: 110, Colson's translation).

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[60] The statement that the sabbatical year falls "at the end of (מקץ) seven years" (Deut. 15:1; 31:10) is no evidence against it being a real year, since the phrase need mean nothing more than "when the last of seven years comes", as in Jer. 34:14. The Mishnah, incidentally, interprets the phrase as meaning "in the eighth year" (Sotah 7:8).

In the Book of Jubilees the connection is no less close. The proem to the book tells us that

> This is the history of the division of the days of the law and of the testimony, of the events of the years, of their (year) weeks, of their jubilees throughout all the years of the world

and the concluding chapter recalls that

> I told thee of the Sabbaths of the land on Mount Sinai, and I told thee of the jubilee years in the Sabbaths of years... And the land also will keep its Sabbaths while they dwell upon it, and they will know the jubilee year... Wherefore I have ordained for thee the year-weeks and the years and the jubilees (Jub. 50:2-4, Charles's translation).

Periods of time are constantly reckoned in the Book of Jubilees by jubilees, year-weeks and years, and it is manifest from many such passages that for the author of this book the jubilee consists not of fifty years but of forty-nine. Thus, in ch. 4, vv 29-30, Adam is said to have died in the sixth year of the seventh week of the nineteenth jubilee, a thousand years old all but seventy years. In other passages of the same kind, 950 years are equated with 19 jubilees, 2 weeks and 5 years (ch. 10, v 16), 127 years with 2 jubilees, 4 weeks and 1 year (ch. 19, v 7), 175 years with 3 jubilees and 4 weeks (ch. 23, v 8), 155 years with 3 jubilees, 1 week and 1 year (ch. 35, vv 6, 27), and 147 years with 3 jubilees (ch. 45, v 13). But where the jubilee consists of 49 years, the jubilee-year must be the 49th year not the 50th, and since the jubilee is subdivided into year-weeks (each, of course, ending with the sabbatical year), the jubilee-year must be every seventh sabbatical year.[61] Now, if the jubilee-year not only is like a sabbatical year, but actually is one, it is a real year. Method No 3, therefore, which makes the jubilee-year not

[61] This reckoning of the jubilee-year as the forty-ninth year, despite the fact that Lev. 25:10-11 calls it the "fiftieth year", is parallel to the Qumran method of dating the feast of Pentecost. In Lev. 23:15-16, the period from the morrow after the Sabbath to the morrow after the seventh Sabbath is said to be "fifty" days, whereas the Qumran community, reasonably enough, held that this total could only have been reached by including in the count the day from which the period began as well as the day on which it ended, and therefore placed them 49 days apart (on the 26th day of the first month and the 15th day of the third month). The community's interpretation of the "fiftieth" year is no less reasonable. The jubilee year is so like a sabbatical year that to locate it directly after a sabbatical year seems strange. Moreover, the promise of provision in the sabbatical year (Lev. 25:20-22), coming as it does in the midst of the law of the jubilee year, must surely apply to the jubilee year also (as Jewish commentators, both ancient and modern, have seen). But if the jubilee year is a sabbatical year, it is not the 50th year but the 49th year; and this gives meaning to the promise of provision for three years (not four) in the sixth year, i.e. for the sixth year itself; for the seventh year, when there will be no harvesting and no sowing; for the eighth year, when there can be no harvesting, though sowing will recommence; but not for the ninth year, when harvesting will again begin.

the 49th year but the 50th, and not a real year but a period of seven days, is open to objection on these scores also.[62]

Method No. 1 is a simple method of intercalation once in 49 years. It conceives the jubilee-year as a 50th year, but as consisting of just 49 days. Since, however, the Qumran jubilee was the 49th year, and a real year, this method is open to the same objections as the conception of the jubilee found in method No. 3. It is open also to the objection of inconsistency, in that it recognises the sabbatical year to be a real year, but attributes quite a different character to the closely parallel jubilee-year.

Method No. 7 likewise involves intercalation every 49 years. It is more circumspect than other such methods, however, and does not invite criticism except in its provision for septennial intercalation (discussed above).

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[62] That the jubilee-year was not a real year seems sometimes to have been inferred from the fact that the trumpet was not sounded, nor the year (as it is supposed) sanctified, until the tenth day of the seventh month (Lev. 25:9-10). Yet there would appear to be need for a definite day to be appointed on which the ownership of property would change and bondsmen gain the right to freedom, and there is no real reason why this day should be the first day of the year rather than the Day of Atonement. The Mishnah draws a different inference from the date on which the trumpet is sounded, namely, that the jubilee year, and hence also the sabbatical year, begins its twelve months with the seventh month Tishri (Rosh ha-Shanah 1:1), thus following a reckoning of the new year which, alongside the Nisan reckoning, was certainly known to the Qumran community, in whose literature "Rosh ha-Shanah" is one of the names for the feast on the first day of the seventh month (see Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery*, p. 109). That it was general practice in later Temple times to begin the sabbatical year in Tishri is indicated by the fact that the remission of only one year's tribute was asked or granted on these occasions (Josephus, *Antiquities* 11:8:5f, or 11:338, 343; 14:10:6, or 14:202, 206), so the prohibited sowing was held to precede the prohibited reaping, not to follow it. See also note 17 on p. 84. Nevertheless, there are grounds for believing that, in the very exact mind of the author of the Book of Jubilees, the year, the sabbatical year and the jubilee year all began from the first month not the seventh. For it is by years, weeks and jubilees that he measures time from the very creation of the world, constantly dating events from that era, and he conceives the creation of the world as taking place at the beginning of Nisan. Thus, he tells us that in the first week of the first jubilee Adam was in the garden of Eden, and on the 17th day of the second month had been there exactly seven years (Jubilees, ch. 3, vv 15-17); but since he was put there 40 days after his creation (ch. 3, v 9), and he was created on the sixth day of Creation-week (ch. 2, vv 13-14; also Gen. 1:26-31), the first day of Creation-week was the first day of the first month: and the first month was certainly Nisan, the month of the Passover (Jubilees, ch. 49, vv 1, 10). The same conclusion follows from the fact that Moses returned to Egypt early in the world's fiftieth jubilee (Jubilees, ch. 48, v 1) and that the crossing of the Jordan into the promised land was to take place when the fiftieth jubilee reached its end (ch. 50, v 4). Now, it can hardly have escaped the author of Jubilees that the crossing of the Jordan into the promised land took place, to all appearances, at the beginning of Nisan, since the first thing the Israelites did after the crossing was to circumcise themselves and keep the Passover (Josh. 5:2-11). But if this was at the conclusion of the fiftieth jubilee, it looks as if the jubilee year began and ended at the beginning of Nisan. Assuming that this was so, biblical authority for it was no doubt found in Lev. 25: 20-22. For, despite Hoenig's efforts to prove the contrary, it is manifest that if the sowing of the eighth year were harvested the same year, there would be no need for provision to be made in the sixth year sufficient to last until the harvest of the ninth year. Clearly, therefore, the eighth year begins not with the season of sowing but with the season of harvest, i.e. with Nisan, and if this is the point at which the eighth year begins it must also be the point at which the sabbatical or jubilee year ends.

Methods Nos. 2 and 4, which postulate intercalation at other intervals, viz., every 28 years and every 24 years respectively[63], are not open to the special objections which have been urged against methods Nos. 1, 3, 5, 6 and 7, though one is bound to wonder whether the careful statement that the number of days in periods of three, five and eight years is in each case a multiple of 364 (1 Enoch 74:13-16) does not imply that the number of days in any period of years is a multiple of 364. The cycle of six jubilees would support this assumption, as we have seen (p. 125). Moreover, there are three general objections, now to be considered, which apply to all methods of intercalating the Qumran calendar in order to bring it into conformity with the true solar year. These must be added to the other objections to methods Nos. 1, 3, 5, 6 and 7, but they apply also to methods Nos. 2 and 4.[64]

The Supposed Theoretical Need for Intercalation

The first general objection to all modern methods of intercalating the Qumran calendar is that they are all based on the assumption that the Qumran community, and the authors of 1 Enoch and Jubilees, would have recognised a need for intercalation. The Egyptians had long followed a solar year of 365 days, and the Greeks and Babylonians had corrected this to about 365¼ days by the fifth century B.C., when the 19-year cycle for reconciling solar and lunar years was devised by the Greek astronomer Meton and his Babylonian contemporaries. The refinements of Callippus and Hipparchus to Meton's work had subsequently corrected this reckoning even further. It has been argued that the Metonic cycle was known to the Egyptian Jews responsible for the Elephantine papyri in the fifth century B.C.[65], and that an accurate solar year was known in Palestine before the beginning of the Christian era.[66] What is certain is that the Jews of Palestine were at different periods under Babylonian and Egyptian rule, and were from the fourth to the second century B.C. under Greek rule. How, then, would it be possible for a group of Palestinian Jews of the period from the third century

[63] As will have been observed, intercalation every 28 years is one of the elements in method No. 6, but intercalation every 7 years is also involved.

[64] An exception should be made in the case of method No. 1, to which only the first of the three general objections applies. This is because Zeitlin dates the Book of Jubilees exceptionally early and the Dead Sea Scrolls exceptionally late, linking the first with the long-standing practice of normative Judaism, not with sectarian practice around the beginning of the Christian era. These contentions must stand or fall by their own proper evidence, but they do provide a practical need for intercalation, i.e. in the services of the Temple. Moreover, method No. 1 is only an approximate method of intercalation, and Hoenig freely admits that the discrepancy would become apparent if the method were used over long periods (and a discrepancy evidently did become apparent).

[65] E. W. Maunder, *The Astronomy of the Bible*, p. 344.

[66] J. B. Segal, "Intercalation and the Hebrew Calendar", in *Vetus Testamentum*, vol. 7 (1957), pp. 250-307. The evidence adduced on this point is not very impressive.

B.C. to the first century A.D. (so it is asked) to believe that the year consisted of only 364 days?

To this line of thinking Hoenig has properly replied that, despite the labours of ancient astronomers, an accurate solar year was not universally accepted until a late period. It is noteworthy that, in the Rome of Republican times, which was like Israel in that astronomy was not seriously studied there, a quasi-solar year with an average annual excess of 1 day was employed. The excess of the Roman year was thus almost the same as the deficiency of the Essene year, and the corrections made were often arbitrary. At the time of the introduction of the Julian year, in 46 B.C., the equinox of the Roman calendar was falling nearly three months too soon, and Sosigenes, the Egyptian astronomer advising Julius Caesar on the matter, had to make a correction of eighty days. So not all the nations surrounding and influencing Palestine were well informed on this matter. Indeed, in a different area of Semitic society than Jewry, it was possible for Mohammed, as late as the seventh century A.D., to introduce a fixed year of twelve lunar months and to forbid intercalation, with the result that the feasts and fasts of the Moslem year have ever since moved right through the seasons every thirty-odd years.[67] Even in Egypt, where astronomy was much studied, it seemed quite acceptable until the final decades of the first century B.C. to use a calendar of exactly 365 days, and to allow its ¼ day deficiency to accumulate. It would seem, therefore, that a Palestinian sect with doctrinaire views on the subject could easily have maintained those views up to the date of the final destruction of Qumran.

There is, of course, no question but that the Qumran community and their literary mentors (especially the author of 1 Enoch 72-82) were interested in the movements of the heavenly bodies, in so far as it was necessary to be interested in them for the due observance of feasts and fasts; and some knowledge of the solstices and equinoxes was naturally found helpful to this end. All the same, the cosmology of 1 Enoch is nothing if not crude, and its author, so far from being an exact and perceptive astronomer, seems to have read the heavens in much the same way as a child reads the face of a watch. O. E. Neugebauer, who certainly has a right to be heard on scientific questions, says that the Astronomical Book of Enoch is "concerned with astronomical concepts of a rather primitive character... dominated by simple arithmetical patterns". Elsewhere, he says that "nowhere on earth can the scheme as a whole be based on reality" and

> The learned speculations of modern scholars about an early form of the Hebrew calendar, based on a year of 364 days (with or without intercalations)

[67] See W. W. Fowler and K. Vollers, "Calendar (Roman), (Muslim)" in *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. 3 (1910).

> completely misunderstand the purely schematic character of our text, equally apparent in the early phases of Babylonian and Greek astronomy.

At the same time, he warns scholars against inferring that the simple arithmetical patterns of the Astronomical Book are necessarily *borrowed* from early Babylonian or Greek astronomy, or belong to a similar period, for "very primitive methods offer only little freedom of choice".[68] Such borrowings as there are seem to derive from the Greek calendar. As we have seen, this influence may well explain the substitution of four seasons for two; and, if R. H. Charles is right, the reference to an occasional 28-day month in 1 Enoch 78:9 reflects a knowledge of the cycle of Callippus, which omitted a day from one lunar month in 76 years, and the selection of periods of three, five and eight years in 1 Enoch 74:13-16, for totalling up the number of days they contain, reflects a knowledge of the Greek 8-year cycle, which added an intercalary month of 30 days in the third, fifth and eighth years.[69] But, if so, the knowledge reflected is entirely superficial. For we have seen reason to think that the Essenes may have turned Callippus's 28-day month to quite a different use (see pp. 124-125), and 1 Enoch certainly refers to the 8-year cycle only in order to reject its figures and substitute multiples of its own fixed year of 364 days, as the passage in question does.

Nor should it be imagined that, if this were the case with the Essenes, it would mean that their calendrical thinking was backward in comparison with other Jewish schools of thought. On the contrary, in one important respect they were more advanced than the central Jewish authorities, who still regulated their calendar by continual observation of the new moon and the coming of spring, and went on doing so until between the fourth and seventh centuries A.D.[70] The Essene calendar, in contrast, was regulated not by observation but by calculation. This was the deepest difference between the Essene calendar and the Pharisaic, and not that the Essene calendar was mainly controlled by the sun and the Pharisaic by the moon, which was the more superficial difference. Calculation is the ultimate method of regulation, because it is capable of predicting the calendrical dates as well as recording them, but it cannot be successfully substituted for observation until it has reached a high degree of accuracy. The Essene calendar was an attempt to substitute calculation before accuracy was attainable.

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[68] See his astronomical appendix to Matthew Black, ed., *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch* (Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha 7, Leiden: Brill, 1985), p. 386. Also his article "Notes on Ethiopic Astronomy", in *Orientalia*, NS, vol. 33 (1964), pp. 59-61.

[69] Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, *ad loca*. See also pp. 105-106 above.

[70] See B. Z. Wacholder and D. B. Weisberg, "Visibility of the New Moon in Cuneiform and Rabbinic Sources", as cited on p. 62 above. See also p. 280 below. In the light of this evidence, Segal's article, cited in note 66, must be treated with great reserve.

Observation, though laborious, is much simpler than calculation. It never needs to face difficult theoretical questions, such as, How many days are there in a solar year? All it needs is the practical rule of thumb to add a month to the year when the seasons are arriving late. Surprising as it may seem, there is no statement by a Jewish writer until the rabbinical literature that there are 365 days in the year.[71] The Astronomical Book, on the other hand, since it wanted to substitute calculation for observation, had to state at once the number of days in the year, and did not get the figure quite right. The result was that, while the Pharisees, by mere observation, retained contact with the real lunar month and (less closely) with the real solar year, the Essenes, by inaccurate calculation, soon lost touch with both.

Not, of course, that the Essenes would have admitted it. Since their calendar was a revealed interpretation of Scripture, it had to be maintained. 1 Enoch puts it as definitely as this:

> The year is exactly as to its days three hundred and sixty-four (1 Enoch 72:32).
>
> And the sun and the stars (and the moon) bring in all the years exactly, so that they do not advance or delay their position by a single day unto eternity; but complete the years with perfect justice in 364 days (1 Enoch 74:12, Charles's translation).

The Book of Jubilees, years later, is hardly less emphatic:

> And God appointed the *sun* to be a great sign on the earth for days and for Sabbaths and for months and for feasts and for years and for weeks of years and for jubilees and for all seasons of the years (Jubilees 2:9).
>
> And all the days of the commandment will be two and fifty weeks of days, and (these will make) the entire year complete. Thus it is engraven and ordained on the heavenly tables. And there is no neglecting (this commandment) for a single year or from year to year. And command thou the children of Israel that they observe the years according to this reckoning—364 days, and (these) will constitute a complete year, and they will not disturb its time from its days and from its feasts; for everything will fall out in them according to their testimony, and they will not leave out any day nor disturb any feasts (Jubilees 6:30-32, Charles's translation).

But if this is what the men of Qumran and their literary mentors believed, it is certain that they would not have recognised any need for intercalation; they would, on the contrary, have repudiated such a suggestion firmly.

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[71] It has sometimes been supposed that a knowledge of the 365 days is reflected in the 365 *years* of the life of Enoch in Gen. 5:23. This, however, is pure speculation, and, if such an interpretation had been current in the intertestamental period, it would be hard to understand how a book which takes Enoch as its hero could assert so emphatically that the number of days in the year is 364.

THE SUPPOSED PRACTICAL NEED FOR INTERCALATION

A second assumption which underlies all modern methods of intercalating the Qumran calendar, and which gives rise to a second general objection to these methods, is that without intercalation it would have been impossible for the Qumran community to make practical use of its calendar. The grounds for this assumption are that at the festivals of the Sheaf and Pentecost the Law required offerings of the seed-crops to be made with the festal sacrifices, and it required the sacrifices and ceremonies of the feast of Tabernacles to take place after the ingathering of the summer fruits and the vintage. But how could this be performed at the appointed dates if each year began 1¼ days too soon, so that after 24 years the crops and the fruits were needed a month before they were ready, and by the beginning of the Christian era perhaps many months before they were ready?

The answer to this difficulty surely lies in the manifest alienation of the Qumran community from the Jerusalem priesthood (Commentary on Habakkuk, 1Q p Hab, *passim*). The place for the sacrifices and offerings to be made was the Temple in Jerusalem. On this point the Qumran literature is clear and emphatic (Damascus Document, CD, 11: 17 - 12:2; Temple Scroll, *passim*) and so is the Book of Jubilees (ch. 49, vv 16-21). Similarly, the ceremonies of booths and palm-branches, at Tabernacles, were to be performed near the altar, going round the altar, and on the Temple-roof (Jubilees 16:20, 31; Temple Scroll 42: 10-17). But, after the destruction of the first Temple, Enoch is unable to see whether the Lord's sheep enter it any more (1 Enoch 89:67), and the sacrifices offered in the second Temple are "polluted and not pure" (1 Enoch 89:73). To offer them is to "kindle God's altar in vain" (Damascus Document, CD, 6:11-14). The period after the Exile is the apostate seventh week of the world (1 Enoch 93:9), the "era of wickedness" or "era of wrath" as it is repeatedly called in the Damascus Document; however, that week is to be followed by the eighth week, the week of righteousness, when "a house shall be built for the great King in glory for evermore" (1 Enoch 91:13). This future Temple, suggested by Old Testament prophecy, is spoken of also in 1 Enoch 25:5; in Jubilees 1:27, 29 (cp. v 17); and in some detail in 1 Enoch 90:28-29, where we read:

> And I stood up to see till they folded up that old house; and carried off all the pillars, and all the beams and ornaments of the house were at the same time folded up with it, and they carried it off and laid it in a place in the south of the land. And I saw till the Lord of the sheep brought a new house greater and loftier than that first, and set it up in the place of the first which had been folded up: all its pillars were new, and its ornaments were new and larger than those of the first, the old one which He had taken away, and all the sheep were within it (Charles's translation).

It is in this future Temple, no doubt, that the priestly Messiah (whose coming at the end of the era of wickedness the Qumran community awaited[72]) was to preside. They might never need to make the festal offerings again until then.

How this evidence relates to Josephus's much-discussed statement about the sacrifices of the Essenes is uncertain. He writes that the Essenes

> send votive offerings (ἀναθήματα) to the Temple, but perform their sacrifices (θυσίας ἐπιτελοῦσιν) employing a different ritual of purification (or—following the *Epitome* and the Latin version—do not offer sacrifices, as employing a different ritual of purification).—For this reason they are excluded from those precincts of the Temple common to all the people, and perform their sacrifices by themselves (ἐφ᾽ αὐτῶν τὰς θυσίας ἐπιτελοῦσιν), *Antiquities* 18:1:5, or 18:19.

This indicates that the rejection of the contemporary Temple by the Essenes was not absolute, since they sent gifts of a non-sacrificial kind there[73]; and Josephus's account of Judas the Essene teaching in the Temple court at the end of the second century B.C. implies the same thing (*War* 1:3:5, or 1:78; *Antiquities* 13:11:2, or 13:311). J. M. Baumgarten, in his careful discussion of the question, infers that, if the Essenes had been permitted to offer sacrifices in accordance with their own interpretation of the sacrificial law, they would even have offered sacrifices there, and perhaps on rare occasions, when the circumstances were favourable, did so.[74] However, the burden of Josephus's statement is to emphasise that, normally, circumstances were not favourable and they did not do so, and that as a result they had been excommunicated from Temple-worship, and "perform their sacrifices by themselves". If this last phase were taken to apply to the whole range of the sacrificial law, it would be impossible to reconcile it with the repeated statements of Jubilees, the Damascus Document and the Temple Scroll that the place where sacrifice must be offered is the Temple, and there is therefore much to be said for A. I. Baumgarten's suggestion that it relates simply to the red heifer sacrifice of Numbers 19, which was specifically for "purification"; for which the men of Qumran did have a "different ritual" (set out in the manuscripts 4Q 276, 277); and which was unique in being appointed to be offered *outside the limits of the sanctuary* (Num. 19:3-8).[75]

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[72] Community Rule, 1Q S, 9:11; Damascus Document, CD, 7:21; 12:23; 14:19.

[73] For this use of ἀναθήματα, cp. 2 Macc. 9:16; Luke 21:5.

[74] "The Essenes and the Temple—A Reappraisal", in his *Studies in Qumran Law*, pp. 57-74.

[75] "Josephus on Essene Sacrifice", in *Journal of Jewish Studies*, vol 45:2 (Autumn 1994), pp. 169-183. For the text of 4Q 276, 277, see Eisenman and Wise, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered*, pp. 210-12; Garcia Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated*, p. 89f; and especially the careful edition of J. M. Baumgarten "The Red Cow Purification Rites in Qumran Texts", in *Journal of Jewish Studies*, vol. 46 (1995), pp. 112-119.

But if the Essene school was alienated from the Jerusalem priesthood, rejected its festal calendar, and regarded its sacrifices as polluted, looking forward instead to the era when a new Temple would be built and right ordinances restored, it is hardly likely that they even attempted to perform the festal offerings and ceremonies at the Temple, and there is no evidence that they did. The regulations about the offering of sacrifice in the Book of Jubilees, the Damascus Document and the Temple Scroll are presumably designed for an ideal situation rather than the actual contemporary situation at the time of writing. The probability is that the Essenes observed the festivals not at Jerusalem but at centres like Qumran, and, since it would have been contrary to their principles to offer sacrifices at Qumran, or to perform the ceremonies of booths and palm-branches there, which there is no reason to suppose happened[76], one may assume that their mode of observance consisted simply of the reading of Scripture and prayer. If, therefore, the harvest were to have fallen later and later in the year, this would not in the least have inhibited the Qumran community from observing the feasts in the same way as before, and the assumption that it would have made the employment of their calendar impracticable is groundless.[77]

The Lateness of Nature

The third general objection to all modern methods of intercalating the Qumran calendar arises from the evidence provided by the Astronomical Book and the Book of Watchers that, under the operation of their calendar, the seasons and crops did not in fact arrive on time, but late. Intercalation would have prevented this problem arising, so was presumably not practised.

We quoted on p. 109 what the Astronomical Book says in 1 Enoch 80:2-8 and the Book of Watchers in 1 Enoch 18:13-15 about the late arrival of the heavenly bodies, the seasons and the fruits of the earth. Since this material occurs in such early texts, one must presume that the discrepancy had developed fairly rapidly, and was due to an absence of intercalation, rather than to an imperfect attempt at it. Now that the evidence was too glaring to be overlooked, theological explanations had started to be devised. These

[76] There is nothing at Qumran corresponding to the "vast pile of burnt bones of calves and lambs" which there was at Leontopolis (Sir William Flinders Petrie, *Egypt and Israel*, London: S.P.C.K., 1923, p. 107; compare his *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, London: University College, 1906, p. 27). The jars of meat-bones found carefully buried at Qumran cannot have come from sacrificial meals, since the Law lays it down that the remains of all such feasts are not to be buried but burned (Exod. 12:10; Lev. 7:17; 19:6; cp. Mishnah, Pesahim 7:10).

[77] The period when the festal law would really have been a difficulty to the Essenes would have been the period before their break with the Temple authorities. If, as seems likely, the breach took place in the high- priesthood of Jonathan Maccabaeus (152-142 B.C.), the Essenes would have had plenty of time since the introduction of their calendar to experience the increasing difficulties which it caused them at festival seasons, and from that point of view it must have been almost a relief when the breach took place.

things could only have happened "in the days of the sinners", and were precursors of still heavier judgements to come upon sinners (ch. 80, vv 2, 8). The wicked angels, to whom the guidance of the heavenly bodies was committed, were also to blame, and they too would be fearfully judged (ch. 18, vv 14-16; cp. ch. 21, vv 1-10). Thus, the fault was not with the revealed calendar but with the course of nature! The calendar could and should continue to be observed, though nature, during this evil period, had gone astray from it.

Once the Essene school had come to terms, in this way, with the unpalatable discovery that its calendar and nature diverged, the only future problem to be faced was the increasing degree of the divergence. It is always possible that, when the discrepancy grew to the extent of six months (which, if the calendar was introduced in the mid-third century B.C., would have happened near the end of the second century B.C.), they may have arbitrarily shuffled the dates and begun again from the equinoxes and solstices, but there is no real reason why they should have done so. After this juncture, the discrepancy would have begun to decrease again, since seasons arriving more than six months late would begin to look like next year's seasons arriving early. So the Essesnes may well have been content, like the Moslems afterwards, to allow their holy days to revolve through all the seasons, while they set their hopes on the coming era of righteousness, when nature would return to its proper course.

CHAPTER SIX

THE QUMRAN PSALTER: THE COURSES OF THE LEVITES AND THE USE OF THE PSALMS AT QUMRAN

In the Books of Chronicles and the titles to the Psalms (with their references to Asaph, the sons of Korah etc.), our attention is frequently drawn to the responsibility of the Levites for the singing of the psalms in the Temple.

TEMPLE PSALMODY

We know from Josephus that the Levites still continued to fulfil this role in the first century A. D. (*Antiquities* 20:9:6, or 20:218), and the Mishnah, in an interesting passage, tells us what psalms were appointed for the Levites to sing on the different days of the week:

> This was the singing which the Levites used to sing in the Temple. On the first day they sang The earth is the Lord's and all that therein is, the round world and they that dwell therein; on the second day they sang Great is the Lord and highly to be praised in the city of our God, even upon his holy hill; on the third day they sang God standeth in the congregation of God, he is a judge among the gods; on the fourth day they sang O Lord God to whom vengeance belongeth, thou God to whom vengeance belongeth show thyself; on the fifth day they sang Sing we merrily unto God our strength, make a cheerful noise unto the God of Jacob; on the sixth day they sang The Lord is king, and hath put on glorious apparel. On the Sabbath they sang A Psalm: a Song for the Sabbath Day; a Psalm, a song for the time that is to come, for the day that shall be all Sabbath and rest in the life everlasting (Tamid 7:4, Danby's translation).

The psalms here listed by their *incipits* (opening words) are Nos. 24, 48, 82, 94, 81, 93, 92. The selection invites four comments:

(i) They are in a very irregular sequence. The first four, 24-94, follow the order of the Psalter, but then the list goes back to 81, on once more (but not quite so far as before) to 93, and then back again one place to 92.

(ii) The use of the last of these psalms on the Sabbath day is in accordance with the title of the psalm in the Hebrew and Greek Book of Psalms, "A Psalm, (of) a Song for the Sabbath day". In the Septuagint, however, not only does Ps. 92 have a title assigning it to the Sabbath, but Ps. 24 has a title assigning it to "the first day of the week"; Ps. 48 has a title assigning it to "the second day of the week"; Ps. 94 has a

title assigning it to "the fourth day of the week"; and Ps 93 has a title assigning it to "the day of the preparation (or the day of the week) when the earth was inhabited", alluding to the creation of man on the Friday of Creation-week in Gen. 1:26-31. Thus, for five of the seven days of the week, the statement of the Mishnah is confirmed by the Septuagint[1], and the Septuagint version of Psalms is an old translation, belonging to Egypt not Palestine, having many interesting peculiarities, and not revised to conform it to the Massoretic Hebrew. But if, when the Septuagint version was made, psalms had already been assigned to five days of the week, it is probable that psalms had been assigned to the other two days of the week as well, and very likely the same psalms as are named in the Mishnah.

(iii) Although there were two main daily hours of worship in the Temple, corresponding to the morning and evening sacrifice of Exod. 29:38-42; Num. 28:1-8, only one psalm was appointed for each day. However, the Septuagint titles appoint an additional psalm for the Sabbath day, Ps. 38, perhaps corresponding to the additional sacrifice of that day (Num. 28:9-10). A statement in the Talmud (Bab Rosh ha-Shanah 31a) suggests that later practice substituted the Song of Moses in Deut. 32 for Ps. 38.

(iv) The appropriateness of the appointed psalms to the days of the week for which they are appointed is by no means obvious. This has often been pointed out by commentators, Jewish as well as Christian, in connection with the title of Ps. 92,[2] but it is equally true of the psalms for the other days of the week. A baraita in the Talmud (Bab Rosh ha-Shanah 31a) gives suggested reasons for the choice of each of the daily psalms, but they are very contrived and are clearly not the original reasons, which were presumably lost in antiquity. Although the Septuagint title of Ps. 93 refers to the sixth day of Creation-week, the events of the respective days of Creation-week do not figure prominently in that psalm or the other psalms appointed. There are general references to the creation of the world in Ps. 24:2, in Ps. 93:1, and perhaps in Ps. 92:4-5, but nothing more. The main themes of the appointed psalms are rather these:

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[1] In numbering the psalms of the Septuagint, the numbers from the Hebrew Bible, not the Greek, will be used, so as to make the parallels clear. In numbering the verses of psalms, the titles will not be counted.

[2] See, for example, Abraham Cohen, Soncino edition of *The Psalms, ad loc;* and, for an extended discussion, N.M. Sarna, "The Psalm for the Sabbath Day (Ps. 92)", in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, vol. 81 (1962), pp. 155-168.

Sunday	(day of the creation of light) Ps. 24: The Lord is the creator and possessor of the earth, and those who go up to his sanctuary must be holy.
Monday	(day of the creation of the skies) Ps. 48: Jerusalem with its Temple is the city of God, and we are his people.
Tuesday	(day of the creation of the dry land and vegetation) Ps. 82: God is the Judge of unjust judges.
Wednesday	(day of the creation of the heavenly luminaries) Ps. 94: God is called upon to judge the persecutors of the righteous.
Thursday	(day of the creation of fish and birds) Ps. 81: Israel is called upon to remember the deliverance of the Exodus and to turn away from other gods.
Friday	(day of the creation of animals and man) Ps. 93: The sovereignty of the Lord God.
Sabbath	(consecrated day of God's rest) Ps. 92: It is good to thank and praise the Lord, who judges the wicked and blesses the righteous. Ps. 38 (additional Sabbath psalm): Prayer for deliverance from sin and its penalties.

THE QUMRAN PSALMS SCROLLS

The thirty-nine Psalms manuscripts among the Dead Sea Scrolls have attracted much attention, not so much because of their number—though they are more numerous than the Dead Sea manuscripts of any other Old Testament book—but because some of them follow an unusual sequence or include extraneous material. A list of the manuscripts is given by J. A. Sanders in his article "Pre-Masoretic Psalter Texts".[3] Eight of the manuscripts contain only one psalm, and most of the others may well conform to the standard order, though two (4Q Ps^b and 4Q Ps^q) have omissions, and so could be selections; for the Psalter, with its 150 self-contained parts, lends itself to selection more than almost any other biblical book. There are, however, eight manuscripts with definite or probable peculiarities of order, content or both.[4]

[3] In *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, vol. 27 (1965), pp. 114-123.

[4] In addition to the works by Sanders, cited in notes 3 and 5, the following editions or studies of the relevant MSS have been consulted: for 4Q Ps^b, P. W. Skehan's edition in *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, vol. 26 (1964), pp. 313-322; for 4Q Ps^q, J. T. Milik's edition in *Biblica*, vol. 38 (1957), pp. 245-255; for 4Q Ps^a, Skehan's study in *Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 4*, pp. 148-160; for 11Q $PsAp^a$, J. P. M. van der Ploeg's partial edition in *Revue*

4Q Ps^{a} contains eighteen psalms, ranging from Ps. 5 to Ps. 69, and mostly in the usual sequence, but between Pss. 38 and 47 comes Ps. 71. (4Q Ps^{q}, if not a selection, may be another copy of the arrangement in 4Q Ps^{a}, for their phenomena agree.)

4Q Ps^{e} contains twenty psalms, ranging from Ps. 76 to Ps. 130, but there are indications of Ps. 118 between Pss. 89 and 104.

11Q PsAp^{a} contains only one canonical psalm, Ps. 91, but it follows about three apocryphal texts.

4Q Ps^{f} contains three widely separated psalms, apparently in the usual sequence, Pss. 22, 107 and 109, but it is not simply a selection of canonical psalms since they are followed by three apocryphal texts, one of which is known as the Apostrophe to Zion.

4Q Ps^{d} contains three psalms in the irregular order Pss. 146, 147, 104, and it also contains an apocryphal text known as the Plea for Deliverance.

11Q Ps^{b} contains three psalms in the irregular order Pss. 141, 133, 144, and also the Plea for Deliverance and a cento of verses from Ps. 118.

4Q Ps^{k} contains three psalms or other texts, with Ps. 99 apparently following Ps. 135 and something in between.

11Q Ps^{a} is much the longest of these texts, and is that edited by J. A. Sanders in vol. 4 of *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan*.[5] When supplemented by the extra fragment published by Yigael Yadin,[6] it contains the whole or part of 38 canonical psalms ranging from Ps. 93 to Ps. 150, but in a very irregular order, and some ten extraneous compositions, including the Apostrophe to Zion, the Plea for Deliverance and the cento from Ps. 118. The canonical psalms included overlap with those in four of the above seven manuscripts, and the order agrees with that of 11Q Ps^{b} but disagrees with that of 4Q Ps^{f} and 4Q Ps^{d}.

In the analysis of the manuscripts just given, the writer owes much to a careful and perceptive (but unpublished) study of the subject by the Rev. David Eckman, formerly of Regents Park College, Oxford. While

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Biblique, vol. 72 (1965), pp. 210-17, and his study in *Acta Orientalia Neerlandica 1970* (ed. P. W. Pestman), pp. 43-45; for 4Q Ps^{f}, Jean Starcky's partial edition in *Revue Biblique*, vol. 73 (1966), pp. 353-371; for 11Q Ps^{b}, van der Ploeg's edition in *Revue Biblique*, vol. 74 (1967), pp. 408-412; and, more generally, G. H. Wilson's study in *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, vol. 45 (1983), pp. 377-388, his book *The Editing of the Hebrew Psalter* (SBL Dissertation Series 76, Chico: Scholars Press, 1985), and P. W. Flint's study in *New Qumran Texts and Studies* (ed. G. J. Brooke, Studies in the Texts of the Desert of Judah 15, Leiden: Brill, 1994), pp. 31-52.

[5] Under the title *The Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave 11 (11Q Ps^{a})*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965.

[6] "Another Fragment (E) of the Psalms Scroll from Qumran Cave 11 (11Q Ps^{a})", in *Textus*, vol. 5 (1966), pp. 1-10 and plates.

discussing the matter with Mr. Eckman, it occurred to the writer to wonder whether there was an analogy (despite obvious differences) between the irregular sequence of the psalms in these manuscripts from Qumran and the irregular sequence of the psalms appointed for the days of the week in the Septuagint and the Mishnah; and this is a possibility which the present essay will be devoted to exploring.

That the order of the psalms in 11Q Ps[a] is a liturgical order, parallel to the other liturgical features of the manuscript (the addition of a refrain to each verse of Ps. 145, the use of a cento of psalm-verses, the inclusion of uncanonical hymns, and also of a curious prose note about the use made of David's psalms and songs in the Temple), is a suggestion which has, of course, often been made before, notably by M. H. Goshen-Gottstein[7] and P. W. Skehan.[8] Skehan, moreover, published a special study of four consecutive items in the manuscript, which he convincingly describes as a "liturgical complex"[9]. What, however, is still needed is an explanation of the liturgical system governing the order of *all* the psalms and compositions in this manuscript, and if possible an explanation which will embrace the other seven eccentric manuscripts as well.

The date which Sanders and others assign to 11Q Ps[a] is the first century A.D.,[10] and the other eccentric manuscripts are considered to range in date from that century back to the second century B.C. The independent evidence of the Septuagint is powerful confirmation that the identity and order of the 150 canonical psalms were settled early, and well before the writing of 11Q Ps[a]; for even though the divisions between the Psalms in the Septuagint sometimes differ from those in the Massoretic text, the order is the same; and even though the 151st psalm is added in the Septuagint, it is appended at the end, and its title explicitly recognises that it is "outside the number". The Septuagint version of Psalms is commonly assigned to the early second century B.C., and may be even older, so it predates the separation of the Essenes from mainstream Judaism. This at once throws

[7] "The Psalms Scroll (11Q Ps[a]): a Problem of Canon and Text", *ibid*, pp. 22-33.

[8] As in his essay "Qumran and Old Testament Criticism", in Mathias Delcor, ed., *Qumran: sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu* (Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 46, Paris: Duculot, 1978), pp. 163-182. Cautious support to the liturgical view has now been given also by Emanuel Tov in his article "Excerpted and Abbreviated Biblical Texts from Qumran" *(Revue de Qumran*, vol XVI, no. 64, Dec 1995, pp. 581-600).

[9] "A Liturgical Complex in 11Q Ps[a]", in *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, vol. 35 (1973), pp. 195-205. The four items are Ps. 135; Ps. 136; the cento from Ps. 118; Ps. 145. Whether they need all have been used on the same day, as Skehan suggests, and not rather on successive days, is open to question, as we shall see. Though the cento seems here to be run on to the end of Ps. 136, this may be only apparent, or it may be a scribal error, due to the psalm and the cento having the same refrain. Note also that part of the cento occurs without Ps. 136 in the fragmentary 11Q Ps[b].

[10] *The Psalms Scroll* (as in note 5), p. 9.

doubt on the contention of Sanders, in various of his writings, that 11Q Ps[a] shows the content and order of the Books of Psalms to have been uncertain as late as the first century A.D., for even in the sectarian context to which the manuscript belongs this could hardly have been the case if content and order were both settled before the Essene separation occurred. It should also be borne in mind that the majority of the Psalms manuscripts from Qumran neither diverge from the usual sequence nor include apocryphal compositions; that one of the apocryphal compositions is Sir. 51:13-30, a relatively recent and very personal hymn by Ben Sira; and that a still more telling fact has been highlighted by Skehan, namely that 11Q Ps[a] itself contains evidence that 150 was known and accepted at Qumran as the number of the psalms.[11] For the prose note there states that David wrote 3,600 psalms and 450 songs. Now, 450 is three times 150; and 3,600 is 150 multiplied by 24, the number of the courses of Levites appointed to sing the psalms in the Temple (1 Chron. 25). But a standard number for the psalms could only have gained currency when the identity of the psalms had been settled; and if the men of Qumran accepted that the psalms numbered 150, and knew which psalms these were, they probably also knew and accepted the standard order, and only diverged from it or added other compositions when they had a liturgical end in view.[12]

David's Psalms and Songs

It is now time to examine the famous prose note in 11Q Ps[a] about David's compositions. This is appended as a sort of explanatory rubric to the concluding verses of the Last Words of David (2 Sam. 23:1-7), the rest of which probably stood at the broken end of the previous column of the scroll,

[11] Article cited in note 8.

[12] G. H. Wilson, in the article and book cited in note 4, supports Sanders's contentions, and argues (a) that the oldest Psalms MSS from Qumran are the irregular ones, indicating a progressive stabilization of the Psalter over a period of time, and (b) that irregularity is most pronounced in the MSS of books 4 and 5 of the Psalter, showing that these were the last to be stabilized. There seem to be logical fallacies here. For (a) only one irregular MS (4Q Ps[a]) is notably early, being assigned to the mid-second century B.C., while all the others date from the mid-first century B.C. onwards (see Wilson, *The Editing of the Hebrew Psalter*, p. 122). And (b) the fact that evidence of irregularity is fullest for the last two books of the Psalter is all of a piece with the fact that evidence of every kind is fullest for the last two books of the Psalter. The ends of scrolls are always apt to survive better than the beginnings, because the beginnings are outside. In the first three books of the Psalter, at least 21 psalms are totally missing from the Qumran MSS, but in the last two books only 5; and of those that survive, the ones in the last two books tend to be more amply attested than those in the earlier books. The irregular MSS are not so very numerous, but when they do extend to the earlier books of the Psalter, as we saw on p. 144, they tend to show their irregularity in those books also. For further arguments against Sanders's and Wilson's contentions, see my article "The Early History of the Psalter", in *Tyndale Bulletin* 46:1 (May 1995), pp. 20-22.

and formed one of the ten extraneous lyrics included among the psalms of the manuscript. The relevant part of the note runs as follows:

> And David, the son of Jesse...wrote, 3,600 psalms (תהלים); and songs (שיר) to sing before the altar over the whole-burnt *tamid* offering every day, for all the days of the year, 364; and for the *qorban* (offering) of the Sabbaths, 52 songs; and for the *qorban* (offering) of the New Moons and for all the Solemn Assemblies and for the Day of Atonement, 30 songs. And all the songs that he spoke were 446, and songs for making music over the stricken, 4. And the total was 4,050. All these he spoke through prophecy which was given him from before the Most High (11Q Ps[a] 27:2-11, Sanders's translation).

Obviously, this gives an ideal picture of the psalmist David, designed to show that he did not fall short of Solomon, who, though he was not primarily a psalmist, is stated by the Bible to have composed no less than 1,005 songs (שיר, 1 Kgs. 4:32 = 5:12 Heb.). Though a few apocryphal compositions carrying David's name have been found at Qumran, and one of them (corresponding to the appended Ps. 151 of the Septuagint) is included in 11Q Ps[a], we can be confident that the huge number of psalms and songs credited to him here is notional, not actual. The note reflects the Qumran calendar, with its solar year of 364 days, and it reckons the holy days of the year as thirty. Thirteen of these thirty it names as the twelve New Moons and the Day of Atonement, and, since the psalms are thought of as sung over the sacrifices, the remaining seventeen might be the seven days of Unleavened Bread, Pentecost, Trumpets and the eight days of Tabernacles, for all of which there are special sacrifices appointed in Leviticus 23 and Numbers 28-29, were it not for the fact that this leaves no room for the Passover and the Sheaf. Probably, therefore, the intermediate days of Unleavened Bread and Tabernacles are not counted, only the holy convocations which begin and end the two festivals, and this leaves nine places to be filled, presumably by holy days peculiar to the Qumran calendar.[13]

Since the first part of 11Q Ps[a] is missing, we do not know what guidance the scribe may have included there on the liturgical use of the psalms that were to follow (or, if his scroll was one of a pair, what guidance he may have

[13] The Temple Scroll offers a straightforward identification of the nine. It has a spring New Year festival, a feast of New Wine, a feast of New Oil, and six Wood Offering days, each relating to a different pair of tribes, and it appoints sacrifices for all these nine occasions. The Spring New Year festival has days of continuation, but these need not be counted, if following the same principle as with intermediate days. An inconsistency in this count of the holy days as thirty, arguably, is that no place is given to the Second Passover (Num. 9:9-14). On the other hand, the Second Passover is not included in the list of holy days in Lev. 23 or Num. 28-29 or the Temple Scroll itself, though it is mentioned in other Qumran texts (see Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery*, p. 109). Possibly the Essenes, like the Pharisees who assigned the Second Passover to the list in the Megillath Taanith, regarded it as only a minor festival. For further discussion of the Temple Scroll calendar, see pp. 112-113.

included in the first scroll of the two). Possibly he gave a list of *incipits,* assigning particular groups of psalms to particular uses or occasions. Certainly he did not include directions of this sort in the course of transcribing the psalms themselves, at least not regularly.[14] Consequently, although the note on David's compositions is not primarily designed to give such guidance, anything that we can infer from it about the scribe's ideas on the proper use of the psalms will be very important, and may indeed be the clearest surviving indication of what his directions would have been, if we still had them.

The following inferences from the note would seem to be legitimate:

(i) Since the ideal number given to the Psalms (3,600) is their real number (150) multiplied by the number of the Levitical courses (24), it can be inferred that at Qumran, as in mainline Judaism, the Levites were thought of as the proper singers of the Psalms. We know that there were Levites at Qumran (Community Rule, 1Q S, 1-2; Damascus Document, CD, 14), and in view of the community's interest in hymnody, the Levites may very well have fulfilled their biblical role there. There was, of course, no restriction in the Bible, as in the case of sacrifice, to confine the singing of the Psalms to the sanctuary.

(ii) Although David's 3,600 psalms and 450 songs are spoken of as distinct from one another, both expressions are probably suggested by the book of Psalms itself, and allude to that book. The word used for the 3,600 "psalms" (תהלים) is the Hebrew title of the book, and the word used for the 450 "songs" (שיר) is the same given by the psalm-titles, and occasionally by their texts, to a limited number of the Psalms—approximately forty of them. Though the proportions are not exact, this would account for the much larger number which the note gives to the "psalms" than to the "songs". Moreover, since it is the Levitical courses that are to sing the 3,600 *psalms* (as their number implies), it is difficult to think when they could sing them except on the occasions for which the 450 *songs* are appointed—the occasions of the daily sacrifices, the Sabbath-day sacrifices, and the festival sacrifices. It was during the offering of the sacrifices that the psalms were sung in the Temple (M. Tamid 7:3-4), and the Essenes evidently maintained this conception, doubtless because it had biblical authority (2 Chron. 23:18; 29:25-30).

(iii) Although the author of the note is using ideal numbers, and evidently feels no constraint in using very high ones, and although two main sacrifices were offered in the Temple each day, he only assigns a single

[14] In his article "A Liturgical Complex" (cp. note 9 above), Skehan argues that the beginning of such a note follows the text of Ps. 145 in column 17 of the MS.

psalm to a single day. He does not assign a second psalm to any day except the 52 Sabbaths and the 30 holy days. Presumably he knew that only a single psalm was appointed for each day in the Temple (see p. 142), and it does not occur to him to alter the rule; or if it occurred to him, he may have been restrained from doing so by the knowledge that the rule was a very old one, which went back to the time before the Essene separation (see pp. 141-142, p. 145). It is also possible that he knew the Septuagint version of Psalms (for Greek texts have been found at Qumran) or Semitic writings containing the equivalents of the Greek psalm-titles, and felt obliged by these to assign a single psalm to each ferial day, but two psalms to Sabbaths and holy days.[15] At all events, this is what he does, and it should make us very cautious about hypotheses which assume that he expected a *group* of psalms to be used on a single day.[16]

(iv) By assigning a different psalm to every day of the year, the author of the note gives a strong hint that he was not satisfied with the custom of main-line Judaism whereby the same seven psalms were repeated every week. Of course, the Psalter does not really contain 364 psalms but 150, yet it looks as if there would be a much closer approach to his ideal if the whole 150 were used in the daily cycle and not simply seven. If, therefore, he knew and respected the old custom assigning Pss. 24, 48, 82, 94, 81, 93 and 92 to the different days of the week, one would expect him to have seen that they were each used on the right weekday, but not that they were used in every week of the year. Since 11Q Ps[a] is confined to the latter part of the Psalter, and the standard daily cycle to the earlier part, they only overlap in regard to one psalm (the Friday psalm, Ps. 93). The day on which the author of the note would desire this to be used might well be a Friday, as the Septuagint title to the psalm directs; but he would not desire it to be used on every Friday.

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[15] As is noted on pp. 141-142, the LXX titles evidently envisage the same, or almost the same, weekly sequence of psalms as the Mishnah does, though they have an extra psalm (Ps. 38) for the Sabbath. In addition, the LXX title to Ps. 29 may assign it to the last day of the feast of Tabernacles (ἐξοδίου σκηνῆς, *sic*; cp. Lev. 23:36 LXX).

[16] As has already been remarked in note 9, there is reason for doubting Skehan's hypothesis that the liturgical complex consisting of Ps. 135, Ps. 136, the cento from Ps. 118, and Ps. 145, was used on a single day and not spread over successive days. In the same article, Skehan suggests that Fragment E of 11Q Ps[a], which begins with Ps. 118, is in fact the conclusion of the whole Hallel (Pss. 113-118). If it is, one ought probably to infer that the Essenes spread the Hallel over several festival days, and did not, like mainline Judaism, use the whole of it on single festival days. The Hallel is frequently mentioned in the Mishnah, and is certainly an ancient liturgical grouping, but one would only expect it to occur in 11Q Ps[a] if that MS were part of a cycle of *festival* psalms, which, as we shall see, it probably is not.

(v) The ideal of using liturgically the whole 150 psalms, with an additional psalm on Sabbaths and holy days, could be implemented in different ways. One way would be to begin by selecting from the whole Psalter the most suitable psalms for the 52 Sabbaths and the 30 holy days, and then just use the remaining 68 in the daily table (in which case the daily table would need to be repeated every 9-10 weeks); another way would be to treat the daily table as distinct from the Sabbath and festival tables, and to include the whole 150 psalms in it (in which case it would need to be repeated about every five months). Greater scope would be given for assigning the ferial psalms to suitable weekdays, and a nearer approach would be made to the ideal of having a different psalm for every day of the year, on the latter method than on the former. Either way, however, the number of 68 or 150 psalms would need to be reconciled with the length of the sequence of the Levitical courses, which were 24 in number, and officiated in turn (as we shall see) for a week at a time. The sequence of the 24 courses was therefore 168 days long, and during these 168 days the Levites had either 68 or 150 psalms to sing, at the rate of one psalm a day. It was a very intractable mathematical problem, and how it was resolved is a question central to our enquiry.

The Courses of the Levitical Singers

Before attempting to determine how this problem was resolved, it is necessary to see in a little more detail the way in which the courses of the Levites operated. In an earlier chapter, the writer examined in some detail the operation of the 24 courses of the priests.[17] It is shown there, on the basis of evidence drawn from 2 Chron. 23:4,8, Josephus and the earlier rabbinical literature, that the priestly courses ministered in the Temple for a week at a time, changing over on the Sabbath; that they ministered in the order in which they are listed in 1 Chronicles 24, uninterrupted by the festivals; and that the cycle of the courses probably started again each year at the beginning, on the Sabbath on or next before the first day of the seventh month Tishri. The first day of Tishri was, of course, the autumnal New Year festival (otherwise known as Trumpets). The effect of this was that each of the 24 courses ministered in the Temple for its week twice a year, and that the first few courses in the list ministered three times.

The chapter goes on to show, on the basis of the information about the Qumran tables of the priestly courses which has been published by J. T.

[17] See pp. 81-88.

Milik,[18] and is now confirmed by the manuscripts themselves, that at Qumran also the week-by-week sequence of the priestly courses, in the usual order, was recognised, and that there also the cycle began with the seventh month (though on the Sabbath after its commencement instead of the Sabbath before); but that at Qumran the cycle was not begun again each year but continued for six years, during which time each of the 24 courses would have performed the duties of its week exactly thirteen times. This system is in harmony with the characteristic Essene quest for greater regularity and precision in calendrical and other matters, and is made possible by the doctrinaire Essene solar year of 364 days, for 6 x 364 = 13 x 24 x 7 = 2184 days.

It was not only the priests, however, but also the Levites, who were divided into courses and performed their duties for a week at a time, changing over on the Sabbath. This is clear from 1 Chron. 9:25; 2 Chron. 23:4,8; Josephus, *Antiquities* 7:14:7, or 7:367; M. Taanith 4:2; Tos. Taanith 4:2-3. The passages from Josephus, the Mishnah and the Tosephta add that their courses, like those of the priests, were 24 in number; and the fact that the courses of the *singers* among the Levites numbered 24 is made very plain by 1 Chronicles 25, where a list of their 24 courses is given, parallel to the list of the 24 courses of the priests in 1 Chronicles 24. The passages from the Mishnah and Tosephta treat the course of priests and the course of Levites for a week as if it was just one course, probably implying that the cycle of their courses began and ended together; and since the Bible itself had made the number of the courses the same and the period of their service each time the same, this was a natural deduction to have drawn.

At Qumran, where the cycle of the priestly courses was so much longer (lasting for six years), and had been worked out with so much attention to precision and symmetry, it is hard to imagine that the priestly cycle, and the cycle of the courses of the Levitical singers, would have been allowed to begin in any other way than together. We cannot prove this, and nothing ultimately depends upon it, but it is very probable.

Since the courses changed over on the Sabbath, it is of some importance to enquire *when* on the Sabbath the change took place. In mainline Judaism it took place at midday, for the Tosephta tells us that the outgoing course performed the morning duties, by offering the morning sacrifice and the additional Sabbath-day sacrifice, while the incoming course performed the afternoon duties, by offering the evening sacrifice and laying the new shewbread on the table (Tos. Sukkah 4:24-25; cp. also Josephus, *Against Apion* 2:8, or 2:108). Assuming that the hour of the changeover was similar

[18] See his *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea*, pp. 107-09; *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4*, pp. 62-65; and also in *Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 4*, p. 25. The discussion of this material is on pp. 89-92 above.

for the Levites, the outgoing course would have sung the psalm at the morning and additional Sabbath-day sacrifices, and the incoming course would have sung it at the evening sacrifice; for, in accordance with what is implied in 1 Chron. 16:39-42; 23:30, it was sung then also. At Qumran, each Sabbath took its name from that of the *incoming* course of priests,[19] so one can infer that there too it was envisaged that the incoming course would perform at least some of the duties of the day (if not all its duties). And in the case of the Qumran Levites, they would have sung the psalm at the time of the evening sacrifice at least, so that the first of the daily psalms which they would have needed for their week's duties would have been the psalm of the Sabbath day, and not the psalm of the first day of the week.

In the six years of the Qumran cycle, as we saw on p. 89, the 24 courses of the priests would each have performed the duties of their respective weeks thirteen times, and the same would apply to the 24 courses of the Levitical singers. But in the case of the latter there is the further problem of the number of the psalms they were to use, at the rate of one psalm per day. The weeks of the 24 courses would add up to 168 days, but the psalms available for use number only 150 or (if the additional psalms for Sabbaths and holy days were excluded from daily use) only 68. After 150 or 68 days, as the case might be, the course which was officiating at that point (the 22nd or the 10th course) would have to go back to the beginning of the Psalms, and every time it came on duty it would find itself at a different point in the Psalter from the last time.

At the end of the six-year cycle this would still be the case, for the 2184 days to which the six years amount is not divisible either by 150 or by 68. In fact, with a series of 150 psalms, each course would have to complete its week 325 times before it came back to the same point in the Psalter, and the same point in the year or cycle, again; or, with a series of 68 psalms, 221 times. This would take 150 or 102 years respectively—a very long period, and not one which could easily be related to the 49-year jubilees of Qumran chronology. Throughout it, the Essene desire for regularity would constantly seem to be frustrated, and the danger of an error occurring would always be present. The only way to escape from this dilemma would be to subdivide some of the psalms or to add other compositions, and so make their number up to 168 (24 x 7); but since the obvious method of subdivision would be to break up the abecedarian Ps. 119 into its 22 parts, which would not meet the

[19] Thus, the sixteenth day in the second month of what Milik describes as the first year bears the name of "Sabbath of Melakiah", i.e. of Malchijah (Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery*, p. 108). That this was the name of the incoming, not of the outgoing, course of priests, see the table on p. 90. What Milik calls "the first year" is the year in which the cycle begins, but as the cycle does not strictly begin until the seventh month of the year, it is more proper to regard the second month as falling in the last half-year of the previous revolution of the cycle.

problem, the alternative solution (the addition of other compositions) would be the natural one to adopt. Once the figure of 168 had been reached, there would be a daily psalm for each of the 24 courses throughout its week of duty (for 24 x 7 = 168), and after each of the courses had ministered for its week of duty thirteen times, the six-year cycle would be complete and would begin again at its starting-point (for 13 x 168 = 6 x 364 = 2184 days). The same seven daily psalms would be used by each course each time it ministered; only the additional psalms for Sabbaths and holy days would vary, according to the time of year when its turns came.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE ECCENTRIC SCROLLS

We are now in a position to apply these facts to the eccentric Psalms manuscripts from Qumran, described on pp. 143-144. The prose note on David's compositions in 11Q Ps^a envisages, as we saw, a fourfold use of the psalms: (i) daily throughout the year, (ii) additionally on the 52 Sabbaths, (iii) additionally on the 30 holy days, and (iv) 4 songs for the "stricken". Other things being equal, the eight manuscripts which have caused such perplexity could have been intended for any of these four uses,[20] and could either be designed for the "stricken", or could follow the daily, the Sabbath or the festal table; though, because of their fragmentary state, none of the manuscripts would be likely to exhibit the whole of any table.

One of the manuscripts, 11Q PsAp^a, is minute in size and seems to be self-contained; it is of similar date to 11Q Ps^a, and its editor J. P. M. van der Ploeg, in his study mentioned in note 4, suggests that it consists of the four songs over the stricken mentioned in the list of David's compositions. It includes Ps. 91 (attributed in its Septuagint title to David), preceded by fragments of a few, perhaps three, uncanonical compositions, one of which is attributed to David. All four texts, the editor judges, are here designed as imprecations against demons, and the name Solomon (which we know from Josephus, *Antiquities* 8:2:5, or 8:45-49, etc., was used at the time in casting out demons) occurs several times in the uncanonical texts. The occurrence of the name Solomon suggests that the whole contents of the MS was not attributed to David, but the contents could at least *correspond* to David's four songs, as the nearest equivalent then available. The exorcisms in the Qumran Songs of the Sage (4Q 510-511) provide only vaguer parallels. Ps.

[20] Unless, when the remaining manuscripts are published or edited, there are indications in some of them to the contrary. What is said here about unpublished or unedited MSS is inevitably more hypothetical than what is said about 11Q Ps^a and the published MSS listed in note 4 on pp. 143-144. The author did not have the advantage of seeing P. W. Flint's *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms*, which was in the press at the same time as his own book.

91 was evidently judged to be the only canonical psalm suitable for this purpose, so three other compositions were added, one of which was circulating under David's name, and all of which may have been deliberately drawn up with exorcism in view. (One might add that not everyone favours the translation "over the stricken", but it suits well the Qumran interest in exorcism).

Two of the manuscripts, 4Q Ps^{a} and 4Q Ps^{e}, though they are large and include eighteen and twenty psalms respectively, ranging in the former case from Ps. 5 to Ps. 69, and in the latter from Ps. 76 to Ps. 130, differ from the rest in that they contain no extraneous compositions, and their only irregularities are in their order. So, although in one instance (where Ps. 118 perhaps precedes Ps. 104) 4Q Ps^{e} agrees with the order of 11Q Ps^{a}, the agreement in content with 11Q Ps^{a} is quite limited, and the manuscripts 4Q Ps^{a} and 4Q Ps^{e} would seem on the whole to be following a different table from the others. With the doubtful exception of Ps. 34 (which Sanders finds in 4Q Ps^{e} but Wilson in 4Q Ps^{a}), there is no overlap between them, but they are almost consecutive, covering the entire Psalter except the last twenty psalms, so they may contain between them almost the whole of a table. 38 psalms is too many for the festal table but much too few for the daily table, if the daily table included the whole 150 psalms (a question to be discussed on pp. 156-157); so what we have here could be the Sabbath table. 4Q Ps^{a} includes Ps. 38, which is the extra psalm marked out by its Septuagint title for the Sabbath (see p. 142), so this would be very appropriate; but neither manuscript, interestingly, includes any of the seven psalms normally appointed for the days of the week (see p. 141) except perhaps Ps. 81. If, therefore, Qumran accepted the old assignment of the seven psalms to the days of the week, it probably incorporated them in its daily table, not in this one.

Ps. 81, however, was a special case. In view of verse 3, it would probably be incorporated in the festal table as well as the daily one, and used on the feast of Trumpets (if not on other New Moons as well), and perhaps also on the first day of Unleavened Bread and of Tabernacles, in accordance with the reference to the full moon (כסה).[21] Not only so, but the "solemn feast day" (חג) of verse 3 would probably have been understood by the Essenes as their venerated Sabbath, since there is reason to think that they did describe the Sabbath by this term (Jubilees 50:9), and they certainly blew trumpets at the times of worship on that day (Damascus Document, CD, 11:22f). It is quite possible, therefore, that Ps. 81 figured also in the Sabbath table, as well as in the daily and festal tables; and the absence of any of the

[21] On the blowing of trumpets, see Lev. 23:24 for the feast of Trumpets, and Num. 10:10 for New Moons and festivals generally.

other daily psalms from the two manuscripts may well be an indication that the manuscripts do not represent the daily table, but rather the Sabbath table.

A further indication is that, since Sabbaths do not differ from each other in the way that festivals do, one would expect the selector of the psalms for the Sabbath table to work steadily through the Psalter, without often altering the order. Now, although 4Q Ps^{e} is too fragmentary to allow us to judge how far it conforms to the standard order, or whether it diverges more frequently than at first sight appears, 4Q Ps^{a} does often present its psalms in the standard order and only once (barring omissions) in an anomalous order. So this would suit a Sabbath table.

The fact that 4Q Ps^{a} and 4Q Ps^{e} do not include any apocryphal lyrics may also be significant. In view of the extreme reverence of the Essenes for the Sabbath, discussed on pp. 102-104, they may have been more hesitant in assigning such lyrics to the Sabbath than to weekdays or holy days; and in the daily table also, we shall find that only one uncanonical lyric appears to be assigned to the seventh day of the week, the Sabbath (see Table II on p. 162).

This leaves five manuscripts of the eight. Two of them, 11Q Ps^{a} and 11Q Ps^{b}, overlap completely and seem certainly to be following the same table as each other. The remaining three, 4Q Ps^{f}, 4Q Ps^{d} and 4Q Ps^{k}, which do not overlap, may again be following the same table as each other; though, if so, it is a different table from that followed by 11Q Ps^{a} and 11Q Ps^{b}, since it uses some of the same material in a different way.[22]

Now, 11Q Ps^{a} and 11Q Ps^{b} do not represent the festal table, since that was a table of 30 psalms, and 11Q Ps^{a} (even in its incomplete state) includes 38, without anything to suggest that one table is ending and another beginning in the course of it.[23] One can be almost equally sure that these two manuscripts do not represent the Sabbath table either, since that was a table of 52 psalms, and 11Q Ps^{a} includes 38, plus about 10 other lyrics, without drawing a single item from the first 92 psalms of the Psalter. We have

[22] 4Q Ps^{f} overlaps to some extent with 11Q Ps^{a}, having two items in common, but since the other four items it contains are not in 11Q Ps^{a}, it looks as if there is a conflict of content and/or order. Much the same applies to 4Q Ps^{k}. The conflict is clearer in the case of 4Q Ps^{d}, which overlaps completely in content with 11Q Ps^{a}, but has its four items in quite a different order.

[23] Theoretically, this division between tables could have come after Ps. 148, in the lost portion of the MS at the foot of column 2. Ps. 148, being near the end of the Psalter, could quite suitably have been the last psalm of the Sabbath table, and the festal table would have begun in the lost part of the column with Ps. 120 (the first of the Songs of Ascents), from which psalm onwards there are almost exactly 30 psalms in the MS, excluding the extraneous lyrics. At first sight, this possibility is attractive, but (i) there must have been some pressure of space at the foot of column 2, even without leaving room for whatever device marked the division between two different tables (to start a new column would have been more natural); (ii) the effect would be that the festal table would be taken exclusively from the final part of the Psalter, excluding even Ps. 81, Ps. 65, Ps. 29, all but one of the Exodus psalms and all the Hallelujah psalms except three.

already seen that the Sabbath table is more likely represented by 4Q Ps[a] and 4Q Ps[e]; and 11Q Ps[a] seems clearly to represent the latter part of a much longer table, which therefore could not be the Sabbath table but would have to be the daily table.

Finally, by a process of elimination, we reach the conclusion that the last group of manuscripts (4Q Ps[f], 4Q Ps[k] and 4Q Ps[d]) probably represent parts—fairly small parts—of the festal table. The psalms in these three manuscripts are certainly quite suitable for festivals. Four of them (Pss. 104, 135, 146 and 147) are Hallelujah psalms, and verse 14 of Ps. 147 suggests that it might have been appointed for Pentecost, the festival of the Firstfruits of Wheat.

We are thus presented with the possibility that the eight eccentric manuscripts do not reflect the arbitrary ideas of different scribes at a time when the Psalter was still fluid, but that, on the contrary, there is a systematic relationship between them, according to which they each adapt a fixed Psalter for different though related liturgical purposes. What is being contended is that the four uses of the Psalms envisaged by the note on David's compositions are all represented in the eight manuscripts. A daily psalm was provided by the table of which 11Q Ps[a] and 11Q Ps[b] are representatives; an additional psalm for Sabbaths was provided by the table of which 4Q Ps[a] and 4Q Ps[e] are representatives; an additional psalm for holy days was provided by the table of which 4Q Ps[f], 4Q Ps[k] and 4Q Ps[d] are representatives; and four psalms, not for regular times and seasons but for exorcising demons, were provided by 11Q PsAp[a]. When the three tables for regular times and seasons were put together, they would have provided a psalm for every day (including Sabbaths and holy days), to be used twice a day, at the hours of the morning and evening sacrifice; an extra psalm for Sabbaths, to be used at the hour of the additional Sabbath-day sacrifice; and an extra psalm for holy days, to be used at the hour of the additional festal sacrifice. Thus, for all days there was one psalm provided (to be used twice); and for Sabbaths and holy days there was a second psalm provided (to be used once).

If this reconstruction is approximately correct, it at once answers our earlier doubt, first posed on p. 150, whether the daily table included the whole 150 psalms or only the 68 which were left after deducting the 52 Sabbath psalms and the 30 festival psalms.[24] For one of the manuscripts which we have assigned to the Sabbath table, 4Q Ps[e], includes psalms which also occur in the daily table, as represented by 11Q Ps[a]—namely, Pss. 104,

[24] If an exclusive principle had been followed, there would presumably have been no overlap between the psalms for Sabbaths and the psalms for holy days, so 68 would have been the number left. In reality, as we have already noted on pp. 154-155, there probably was overlap.

105, 109, 118, 125, 126, 129 and 130; and all the manuscripts which we have assigned to the festal table, 4Q Ps^{f}, 4Q Ps^{k} and 4Q Ps^{d}, include psalms and lyrics which also occur in the daily table, as represented by 11Q Ps^{a} and 11Q Ps^{b}—namely, Pss. 104, 109, 135, 146, 147, the Apostrophe to Zion and the Plea for Deliverance. Thus, the tables were not mutually exclusive, and the daily table would have included the whole 150 psalms, not just the 68 left over. This is as one would expect, in a community whose ideal was a different psalm for every day of the year. The same conclusion follows from the fact that the daily table, as represented by 11Q Ps^{a} and 11Q Ps^{b}, includes most if not all of the Songs of Ascents (Pss. 120-134). Now, since the titles of these psalms appropriate them to the pilgrim festivals, it is hard to believe that Qumran did not include a good number of them, if not all of them, in its festal table, rather than confine them to its daily table.[25]

THE CONTENTS OF 11Q Ps^{a}

But if the number of psalms included in the daily table was 150, the number of additional lyrics that was needed to complete the 168-day sequence of the Levitical courses (as indicated on p. 150) was eighteen. And this may be the real explanation of the presence of the extraneous lyrics in 11Q Ps^{a} and the kindred manuscripts. Ten such extraneous lyrics have been counted in 11Q Ps^{a}, a few of which also occur, together with a few others, in three of the other eccentric manuscripts (not to mention those provided for exorcisms in 11Q PsAp^{a}), but altogether there would need to have been eighteen of them. Accordingly, the reason for their inclusion in manuscripts based on the daily table was simply *the force of necessity,* for otherwise it was a mathematical impossibility to reconcile the number of psalms with the Qumran cycle for the courses of the Levitical singers, whose duty it was to recite them. However, once they had been included in the daily table, there was no reason why suitable use should not be made of them in the festal table as well, and (to judge from 4Q Ps^{d} and 4Q Ps^{f}) this is what was done.

It is not necessary to suppose that the Essenes must themselves have composed all the eighteen lyrics that they included in the tables (they certainly did not compose 2 Samuel 23 or Sirach 51, which were two of them), or that there were not many more than eighteen such lyrics in their hands, which they could have used for the purpose, had they wished. The status which the eighteen had at Qumran is, of course, entirely open to discussion, but this question should not be thought to be settled by their inclusion in copies of the Psalter, if their inclusion was simply due to what

[25] Unless, of course, the title "Song of Ascents" was given a different explanation at Qumran.

seemed to the Essenes *liturgical necessity*, namely, the provision of seven different daily psalms for each of the 24 courses of Levites to sing, making 168 in all.

Why the lyrics used for the purpose were largely non-biblical, is a question to which only a conjectural answer can be given. The fact that the Last Words of David (2 Sam. 23:1-7) is included among them, shows that the possibility of using biblical lyrics was seriously considered. Perhaps the difficulty of finding as many as eighteen was the obstacle, but more likely (since hymnology was so important a concern at Qumran) all except the Last Words of David had already been appropriated to a different liturgical use; and the use was one which was significant enough or frequent enough to make repetition in the ordinary daily recitation of the psalms seem inappropriate.

Since 11Q Ps^{a} is incomplete at the beginning, and Pss. 101-103 and Ps. 109 have only survived in detached fragments, it is not until we come to Fragment E and Ps. 118 that we can be reasonably sure that we know just what is included in the manuscript and what is not. Even then we cannot be entirely sure, since the manuscript is broken at the bottom, and lacks a number of lines of every column. This is no problem if it simply results in lines being gone from the middle of a long psalm, or in a comparable gap towards the end of one psalm and some way into the early part of another; but occasionally the gap begins where one psalm ends (or only just before) and ends where another begins (or only just after), and in this case one can only conjecture what stood in between. It is generally considered that Ps. 120 stood in the gap at the foot of column 2, and Ps. 131 in the gap at the foot of column 5, since there is room for the former and probably for the latter, and it would seem natural to fill up, in this way, the uninterrupted sequence of the Songs of Ascents, from the beginning and as far as Ps. 132, which the manuscript here contains. However, there is more of a problem at the foot of column 17, where the end of Ps. 145 is followed, after a space of a word's length, by a rubric. Right at the bottom of this column, two or three lines would have been occupied by the beginning of "Syriac" Psalm II, the bulk of which occupies the next column; but to fill the rest of the room the rubric after Ps. 145 would need to have continued for about another five or six lines. If we may judge from the rubrical note on David's compositions, so long a rubric would have been started on a fresh line and indented, not added on the same line after a space of a word's length. It therefore seems more probable that the rubric here was short, and that a brief psalm followed it; almost certainly, in view of the room available, Ps. 117, or, with more of a squeeze, Ps. 100. These are both from the same area of the Psalter as the

rest of the psalms in the manuscript, and neither of them is used elsewhere in it.[26]

At the end of the manuscript there is a blank column, showing that the work is complete. The last item in the previous column is the Psalm CLI (151) of the Septuagint, in Hebrew, and divided into two parts. It looks as if there would have been a space at the foot of this column, but it is hard to think that another psalm or lyric would have been added there. If, as we have seen reason to suspect, the Greek Psalter or underlying Semitic materials (or both) were known to the Essenes, this appendix to the Psalter probably seemed a natural item to conclude with. In that case, anything that may conceivably have been added would have been added for the convenience of the Levites, and would have directed them back again to the beginning of the table. The true end of the table would have been the second part of Ps. CLI (151).

THE ORDER OF 11Q Ps[a]

To possess, in 11Q Ps[a], the end of the daily table, and a considerable number of items leading up to it, enables us to correlate this table with the calendar and the Levitical courses in a way which is not possible with the Sabbath table or the festal table. As far as we can tell, we do not possess the beginning or end of either of the other tables, unless perhaps we possess the beginning of the Sabbath table in 4Q Ps[a]; but even if we do, the condition of that manuscript makes it impossible to tell precisely which other psalms it may have included, and after Pss. 5 and 6 the sequence becomes uncertain. With 11Q Ps[a] it is different.

If what we have been saying is correct, the continuous part of 11Q Ps[a], from Ps. 118 to Ps. CLI (151)B, originally consisted of 47 items, apart from rubrics. 37 of these items were canonical psalms, and ten were lyrics from elsewhere.[27] All the canonical psalms from Ps. 117 (probably) to Ps. 150 were present, but in an irregular order, dictated by liturgical considerations; and because the order was irregular, three psalms from a slightly earlier point in the Psalter (Pss. 93, 104 and 105) were inserted among them. Nevertheless, the collection was basically the last part of the Psalter, which is why it brought the scroll to its end. It must have been preceded by other psalms, in the earlier part of the scroll, and possibly by another complete

[26] Skehan, in the article cited in note 9, rejects the possibility that a short psalm stood here. This is partly, no doubt, because of his theory about the Hallel (which includes Ps. 117), discussed in note 16.

[27] These figures assume that the cento of Ps. 118 is to be counted as a separate item from what precedes it (cp. note 9), and also that it is to be reckoned as one of the extraneous compositions (since Ps. 118 in its full form occurs in the MS separately).

scroll, so as to make up the other 113 canonical psalms and the other eight additional lyrics which were needed in order to provide the 168 daily psalms to be used by the 24 Levitical courses in their respective weeks.

47 daily items would fill just under 7 weeks, and as these were the last 47 items of the 168, they would be used by the last 7 of the 24 Levitical courses (courses 18-24) in the last 7 weeks of each 24. Since, as we saw on pp. 150-151, the cycle of the priestly courses at Qumran, and presumably of the Levitical courses there, began at the autumnal New Year, on the first Sabbath of the seventh month; and since the 364-day Qumran year is exactly divisible into weeks, so that the dates in the year always fall on the same weekday; it is possible to plot the dates on which each of the courses ministered throughout the six-year cycle. Altogether, each course ministered thirteen times in the six years, but as a specimen we will now look at the dates on which the courses ministered for the first of their turns in the first year (table I).

Table I: THE BEGINNING OF THE CYCLE

Sabbath	Month	Course	Priests Commencing (1 Chron. 24)	Levitical Singers Commencing (1 Chron. 25)
4th	7	1	Jehoiarib	Joseph
11th	7	2	Jedaiah	Gedaliah
18th	7	3	Harim	Zaccur
25th	7	4	Seorim	Izri
2nd	8	5	Malchijah	Nethaniah
9th	8	6	Mijamin	Bukkiah
16th	8	7	Hakkoz	Jesharelah
23rd	8	8	Abijah	Jeshaiah
30th	8	9	Jeshua	Mattaniah
7th	9	10	Shecaniah	Shimei
14th	9	11	Eliashib	Azarel
21st	9	12	Jakim	Hashabiah
28th	9	13	Huppah	Shubael
4th	10	14	Jeshebeab	Mattithiah
11th	10	15	Bilgah	Jeremoth
18th	10	16	Immer	Hananiah
25th	10	17	Hezir	Joshbekashah
2nd	11	18	Happizzez	Hanani
9th	11	19	Pethahiah	Mallothi
16th	11	20	Jehezkel	Eliathah
23rd	11	21	Jachin	Hothir
30th	11	22	Gamul	Giddalti
7th	12	23	Delaiah	Mahazioth
14th	12	24	Maaziah	Romamti-ezer

Of these courses, the ones that chiefly concern us are the last seven in the last column, beginning with the course of Hanani (course 18). Like the other courses, the course of Hanani would begin its duties on the Sabbath, either at the beginning or the middle of the day (see p. 152), so the first of the daily psalms that it would need would be that of the last day of the week, the Sabbath (not of the first day of the week). If the changeover of courses took place in the middle of the day, and the course of Hanani consequently had duties to perform on the morning of the next Sabbath, it would need eight daily psalms in all; but the last of these would be also the first daily psalm of the incoming course, and would more properly be thought of as belonging to that course, since it was that course which gave its name to the Sabbath in question (see p. 152), and the whole cycle of courses began on the Sabbath. This would mean that, whereas the days of the week ran from Sunday to the Sabbath, the psalms of the week would run from the Sabbath to Friday; and in the table that follows (table II) the Sabbath is capitalized, as being both the last day of the week, and also the first day of the course.

47 items from the end of the table do not take us back to the beginning of the week of Hanani, but only to the Monday of that week. This explains why the entries begin where they do.

Table II: THE CONCLUSION OF THE DAILY TABLE OF PSALMS

Month	Day	Course	Daily Psalm
11	Monday 4th	18. Hanani	118
	Tuesday 5th	(continuing)	104
	Wednesday 6th		147
	Thursday 7th		105
	Friday 8th		146
11	SABBATH 9TH	19. Mallothi	148
	Sunday 10th		120?
	Monday 11th		121
	Tuesday 12th		122
	Wednesday 13th		123
	Thursday 14th		124
	Friday 15th		125
11	SABBATH 16TH	20 Eliathah	126
	Sunday 17th		127
	Monday 18th		128
	Tuesday 19th		129
	Wednesday 20th		130
	Thursday 21st		131?
	Friday 22nd		132
11	SABBATH 23RD	21 Hothir	119
	Sunday 24th		135
	Monday 25th		136
	Tuesday 26th		Cento of Ps. 118
	Wednesday 27th		145 + rubric
	Thursday 28th		117?
	Friday 29th		"Syriac" Ps. II
11	SABBATH 30TH	22 Giddalti	Plea for Deliverance
12	Sunday 1st		139
	Monday 2nd		137
	Tuesday 3rd		138
	Wednesday 4th		Sir. 51:13-30
	Thursday 5th		Apostrophe to Zion
	Friday 6th		93
12	SABBATH 7TH	23 Mahazioth	141
	Sunday 8th		133
	Monday 9th		144
	Tuesday 10th		"Syriac" Ps. III
	Wednesday 11th		142
	Thursday 12th		143
	Friday 13th		149
12	SABBATH 14TH	24 Romamti-ezer	150
	Sunday 15th		Hymn to the Creator
	Monday 16th		2 Sam. 23:1-7 + prose note
	Tuesday 17th		140
	Wednesday 18th		134
	Thursday 19th		CLI (151) A
	Friday 20th		CLI (151) B

Looking back over this arrangement, a few comments may be made:

(i) Since the compiler was basically working his way through the Psalter (and was now nearing the end of it), he preserves the normal order of the psalms where this seems to him to be sufficiently appropriate to the days of the week on which they would fall. Hence, Pss. 120-132 are in continuous sequence, and so are two pairs of psalms, Pss. 135-136 and Pss. 149-150.

(ii) Despite his necessary irregularities, he is not indifferent to symmetry. He begins the long sequence Pss. 120-132 on the first day of the week, and ends it on the last day of the Levitical course. He assigns the last psalm of the Psalter to the last day of the week, the Sabbath, and the penultimate psalm to the Preparation day immediately before it. He assigns the appendix of the Greek Psalter to the end of the last Levitical course.

(iii) He assigns only one extraneous composition, the Plea for Deliverance, to a Sabbath. Even then, of course, there would be an additional (canonical) psalm for that day in the Sabbath table.

(iv) Ps. 93, the ancient Friday psalm (appointed for that day in its Septuagint title), is assigned to a Friday. This is the only one of the seven old psalms for the days of the week which occurs late enough in the Psalter to be included in 11Q Ps[a], and it may be inferred as probable that in the earlier part of the table the other six psalms would similarly have been assigned to the appropriate day of the week.[28]

So far, we have said nothing about the actual content of the individual psalms and lyrics, but why such an irregular order should have been necessary, in order to assign them to appropriate weekdays, is a question which only an examination of their content can resolve, if anything can. We began this study by looking at the seven psalms anciently assigned to the days of the week (and the extra psalm assigned by its Septuagint title to the Sabbath); and we noted that there too the order is irregular, but that the reason why such irregularity should have been necessary is not obvious from the content of the psalms chosen (pp. 141-143, points 1 and 4). The events of Creation-week, and the regular worship of the Lord on the Sabbath, may have played a part in the choice, but they do not by any means offer a complete explanation. In the arrangement set out in table II, the order is

[28] It may be remarked that no Hebrew equivalent of the Greek title of Ps. 93 occurs in 11Q Ps[a]. Since the Essenes did not take their guidance from contemporary Temple practice, it must be assumed that the appropriateness of this psalm for Friday was an inference either drawn direct from the Greek Psalter, or drawn from old Semitic liturgical materials preserved outside the biblical texts. These would have been reproduced in the opening directions for the use of 11Q Ps[a] that are envisaged on pp. 147-148.

similarly irregular, and an examination of the content of the psalms and lyrics would similarly show that it cannot be explained simply from the events of Creation-week and the regular worship of the Lord on the Sabbath.

However, when one compares the content of the psalms and lyrics assigned to a particular day of the week by 11Q Ps[a] with the theme of the psalm anciently assigned to that day of the week, together with the theme of the extra psalm assigned to the Sabbath by its Septuagint title (cp. pp. 141-143), a connection at once seems to emerge. In the table below (table III) the different psalms and lyrics assigned by 11Q Ps[a] to a particular day of the week are grouped together, headed by the theme of the key psalm(s) for that day, as we know it from the Septuagint and the Mishnah; and the possibility presents itself that the compiler of the Qumran table took that psalm as a model by which to select other psalms and lyrics for the same day of the week.

Table III: THE THEMES OF THE DAILY PSALMS

SABBATH	
(consecrated day of God's rest. Ps. 92: it is good to thank and praise the Lord, who judges the wicked and blesses the righteous. Ps. 38: prayer for deliverance from sin and its penalties).	
148	All that the Lord has created is to praise him (Sabbath-day worship).
126	Turn again our captivity (cp. Ps. 38).
119	The Scriptures (Sabbath-day worship).
Plea for Deliverance	(cp. Ps. 38).
141	Prayer for deliverance from sin (cp. Ps. 38).
150	Praise God with all musical instruments (Sabbath-day worship in Temple. Cp. Ps. 92:1-3).

SUNDAY	
(day of the creation of light. Ps. 24: the Lord is the creator and possessor of the earth, and those who go up to his sanctuary must be holy).	
120	A song of ascents (cp. Ps. 24:3).
127	A song of ascents (cp. Ps. 24:3).
135	Ye that stand in the house of the Lord (v 2, cp. Ps. 24:3).
139	The Lord searches the heart (cp. Ps. 24:4).
133	A song of ascents (cp. Ps. 24:3).
Hymn to the Creator	(1st day of creation-week. Cp. Ps. 24:2)

MONDAY	
(day of the creation of the skies. Ps. 48: Jerusalem, with its Temple, is the city of God, and we are his people for ever).	
118	The Lord's mercy to his people endures for ever (cp. Ps. 48).
121	The Lord will protect us for evermore (cp. Ps. 48).
128	Those who fear the Lord shall be blessed out of Zion all their lives (cp. Ps. 48).
136	The Lord's mercy endures for ever (cp. Ps. 48). He made the skies (v 5).
137	Remembering our city Jerusalem (cp. Ps. 48).
144	Happy is the people whose God is the Lord (cp. Ps. 48).
2 Sam. 23:1-7.	God's everlasting covenant with the house of David.

TUESDAY	
(day of the creation of the dry land and vegetation. Ps. 82: God is the Judge of unjust judges).	
104	The creation of the dry land and vegetation.
122	The thrones for judgement at Jerusalem (cp. Ps. 82).
129	The Lord judges those who hate Israel.
Cento of Ps. 118.	It is better to trust in the Lord than in princes (cp. Ps. 82).
138	The Psalmist praises the Lord before the gods (cp. Ps. 82).
"Syriac" Ps. III.	A prayer to the great Judge to make the psalmist just (cp. Ps. 82).
140	A prayer for deliverance from the wicked.

WEDNESDAY	
(day of the creation of the heavenly luminaries. Ps. 94: God is called upon to judge the persecutors of the righteous).	
147	The Lord tells the number of the stars (v 4). He abases the wicked (v 6).
123	A prayer for mercy and relief from the scorn of the proud (cp. Ps. 94).
130	A prayer for mercy and forgiveness, when in distress.
145	The Lord is nigh unto those who call upon him, but destroys the wicked.
Sir. 51:13-30.	Wisdom is nigh unto those who seek her (v 26).
142	A prayer for deliverance from persecutors (cp. Ps. 94).
134	A call to bless the Creator of heaven and earth by night.

THURSDAY	
(day of the creation of fish and birds. Ps. 81: Israel is called upon to remember the deliverance of the Exodus and to turn away from other gods).	
105	The Exodus (cp. Ps. 81).
124	The Lord saves Israel from her enemies (cp. Ps. 81).
131	Israel is to trust humbly in the Lord.
117	The nations called upon to recognise the Lord's mercy to Israel.
Apostrophe to Zion.	The future salvation of Zion.
143	The Lord called upon to deliver, as in the days of old.
CLI(151)A.	God is praised for exalting David, the youngest son.

FRIDAY	
(day of the creation of animals and man. Ps. 93: the sovereignty of the Lord God).	
146	The Lord reigns, not man (cp. Ps. 93).
125	The Lord is strong, and the strength of those who trust in him.
132	We will go into the Lord's tabernacle (the Preparation day).
"Syriac" Ps. II.	It is wisdom to proclaim God's greatness and might.
93	The sovereignty of the Lord God (Ps. 93 itself).
149	Victory through the Lord.
CLI(151)B.	David's victory over Goliath.

In each of these daily groups, there is a sufficient number of psalms which agree closely with the theme of the key psalm, or with other peculiarities of the day, to make the arrangement credible, and it may fairly be claimed that the remaining psalms in each group are sufficiently congruous with the former ones to be appropriate.[29]

[29] It would be helpful if the daily themes could be checked from other Qumran texts, but the necessary material does not seem to be available. The fragmentary 4Q 503 "Daily Prayers" provides blessings for the days of the month rather than for the days of the week, and concentrates on the developing light of the moon and sun. The fragmentary 4Q 504-06 "Words of the Luminaries" provides a hymn for the Sabbath and a prayer for Wednesday, but does not deal distinctly with other days of the week. See *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*, vol. 7, ed. Maurice Baillet (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), pp. 105-175.

CHAPTER SEVEN

JUDAISM BETWEEN THE TESTAMENTS: THE STAGES OF ITS RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT

The intertestamental period of Israelite history, which begins after the return from the Babylonian Exile and continues until the birth and ministry of Jesus Christ, is only rather patchily documented. For the pre-exilic period, right back to the time of the Exodus, there are continuous narratives of events, narratives of unrivalled authority in national esteem for as far back as we can trace them, and now embodied in Holy Scripture. Questions may be raised about the kind of narratives that these are, and about their historicity, on particular points or in general, but the record they provide is complete and without competition. After the return from the Exile, although the period is more recent, the situation is less happy. The only semi-continuous narrative is that of Josephus, drawn up at the end of the period out of such sources as were still available to him, which were sometimes full and sometimes scanty. The actual return from the Exile he found documented in Ezra and Nehemiah and in the latest of the prophets, but then there was a gap of almost two and a half centuries until the events recorded in the first two books of Maccabees, which cover the period from about 175 B.C. down to about 134 B.C. From then onwards, Josephus was fairly well supplied with information, and is now almost our sole authority.

As a historian, Josephus (whatever his faults) is unique and indispensable. Where his major sources fail him, he does what he can with such traditions and incidental records as he can find. Especially important to him, it seems, is the genealogy of the high priests, which he tells us was preserved at Jerusalem (*Against Apion* 1:7, or 1:30-36), and on which he frequently draws throughout his history. This provides him with a structure for the post-exilic period, based on a succession of names, to many of which he can attach a few facts. Josephus is keenly interested in political history, and no less in religious history. He is not interested in social history (except as this affects his own aristocratic aspirations or the reputation of the Jews in the world), but social history is mainly a modern concern.

Up until the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, and the dawn of the new light which these have thrown upon every aspect of intertestamental study, historians who were not prone to speculate were fairly closely tied to the bare facts of Josephus's narrative. His account continues to be basic, but can now be read in a much broader context.

From the latter half of the second century B.C. onwards, Josephus devotes particular attention to the three religious schools of the Pharisees, Sadducees and Essenes. Most of what we know about their fortunes and rival opinions is drawn from Josephus, though his account is supplemented by the New Testament and the rabbinical literature, and illustrated by evidence from elsewhere. The date when they first appear in his narrative suggests that they could have arisen merely as reactions to the Hellenizing crisis of the mid-second century B.C., when the high priests Jeshua-Jason and Menelaus adopted syncretistic policies and the Hellenistic Syrian king Antiochus Epiphanes attempted to suppress Judaism altogether; and it was often supposed in the past that their existence did not call for any further explanation.

The more benign form of Hellenistic Judaism represented by the Septuagint translation and Alexandrian Jewish literature was also well established by the mid-second century B.C., and was often thought of in the past as a further school of Jewish thought quite as independent as any of the other three, despite Josephus's failure to represent it as such. In reality, however, for all its cultural significance, it did not form a single group, with a distinct religious identity. Rather, it influenced all groups. As I have written elsewhere,[1] it used to be customary to draw a sharp distinction between Palestinian Jewry, which was Semitic-speaking and strongly resisted the Hellenizing efforts of the Greek rulers of Syria, and the Jewry of Ptolemaic Egypt, which spoke Greek, produced its own Greek literature, and voluntarily adopted many Greek ideas. The distinction is a real one, but it must not be exaggerated. The religious dependence of Egyptian Jewry on Jerusalem remained great: despite the existence of the local sanctuary for Egyptian Jews at Leontopolis, the festal pilgrimages from Egypt to the Jerusalem Temple were well supported, and the Temple-tax was duly paid.[2] Again, although there was much original literature written in Greek by Egyptian Jews, and some of it (notably that written by philosophers like Aristobulus and Philo) was deeply influenced by Greek ideas, a good many of the works which were once classed with it are now believed not to have been composed in Greek, but to have been translated from Palestinian Semitic originals, by Jews who understood Semitic languages.[3] Thus, among

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[1] *The Old Testament Canon of the New Testatment Church (ut supra),* pp. 30-36.

[2] See H. B. Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1902), p. 7f.; S. Safrai and M. Stern, *Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum: section I, The Jewish People in the First Century,* vol. 1 (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1974), ch. 4, "Relations between the Diaspora and the Land of Israel". Philo's attitude to Leontopolis is to ignore it: since God is one, there is only one Temple for the whole world, that at Jerusalem, he maintains *(De Specialibus Legibus* 1:67-69 etc.)

[3] See A C. Sundberg Jr, *The Old Testament of the Early Church* (Harvard Theological Studies 20, Cambridge Mass: Harvard University Press, 1964), pp. 60-62. One of the most

the Septuagint Apocrypha, not just Ecclesiasticus but Tobit, Judith, Baruch, the additions to Daniel, and 1 Maccabees, are commonly regarded today as translations from Hebrew or Aramaic.

If, however, Hellenistic Judaism was influenced by Semitic Palestine, the converse is also true: that Palestinian Judaism was influenced by the Hellenistic world, and much more deeply than used to be supposed. By New Testament times, a limited knowledge of the Greek language was common through all strata of Palestinian society, even in Judaea: Greek texts have been found, for example, among the Dead Sea Scrolls, from the Judaean wilderness. In Galilee of the Gentiles, a greater proficiency in Greek may have been normal.[4] Nor was it just a matter of language. In first-century Palestine, both literary practice and worship had been affected, at least externally, by Greek custom;[5] and, even if not to the same degree as in the Dispersion, Greek art had become widely accepted, and Greek culture in general.[6] This is not because there was not vigorous opposition in Palestine, but because, as is now clear, opposition was not unanimous and unqualified, and had limited success. Consequently, it is by no means impossible that some of the extant Hellenistic Jewish literature was composed not in Egypt but in Palestine,[7] and that ideas which only survive in such literature existed, nonetheless, in Palestine as well as elsewhere.

The community of language and ideas between Egyptian and Palestinian Jewry being as close as this, it is probable that the three main Palestinian schools of thought had their sympathizers in Egypt as well as in the mother country. Certainly this is true of the Essenes, for whom Philo evinces so great an admiration (*Quod Omnis Probus Liber Sit* 75-91; *Hypothetica* 11:1-18) and to whom the Egyptian Therapeutae described in his *De Vita*

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detailed studies of Palestinian influence on Alexandrian literature is still Zacharias Frankel, *Über den Einfluss der palästinischen Exegese auf die alexandrinische Hermeneutik* (Leipzig: Barth, 1851), but it does not carry its survey beyond the LXX Pentateuch.

[4] See J. N. Sevenster, *Do you know Greek?—How much Greek could the first Jewish Christians have known?* (Supplements to Novum Testamentum 19, Leiden: Brill, 1968); A. W. Argyle, "Greek among the Jews of Palestine in New Testament Times", in *New Testament Studies*, vol. 20 (1973-4), pp. 87-89. See also note 6 below.

[5] See Saul Lieberman, *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine* (2nd edn., Texts and Studies of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America 18, New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1962).

[6] See E. R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period* (Bollingen Series 37, New York: Pantheon Books etc., 1953-68); Martin Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism* (E.T., London: SCM, 1974). Representational art may not have been accepted before the second century A.D. (see E. E. Urbach, "The Rabbinical Laws of Idolatry", in *Israel Exploration Journal*, vol. 9, 1959, pp. 149-165, 229-245). For a thorough and notably cautious account of the extent of Greek culture and language in Palestine, see Emil Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, revised by G. Vermes, F. Millar and M. Black, vol. 2 (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1979), pp. 29-80.

[7] According to Rest of Esther 11:1 (addition F), LXX Esther was produced in Jerusalem; and the earliest attempts to conform the Greek Old Testament to a Massoretic-type Hebrew text may well be the work of Palestinians.

Contemplativa are clearly related; but it is also true (as is clear from interpretations and opinions reflected in the Septuagint and Philo) of the Pharisees. Moreover Boethus, from whom—so it is widely supposed—the Sadducean Boethusians took their name after Herod made his son high priest, belonged to Alexandria (see Josephus, *Antiquities* 15:9:3, or 15:320). Egyptian Essenism, Pharisaism or Sadduceeism was probably not identical with Palestinian, since the distinction between Hellenistic and Semitic Judaism remains real, but neither was it something completely different. Rivalry between the schools may also have been less intense in the Egyptian context, but it doubtless existed to some degree.

From all this it follows that the Hellenistic Jews cannot be isolated from the three main Palestinian schools, but overlap with them. It is on the three schools themselves that we must now concentrate attention.

Their first appearance in history comes in the high priesthood of Jonathan Maccabaeus (Josephus, *Antiquities* 13:5:9, or 13:171-73), that is, between 152 and 142 B.C. The Mishnah traces the succession of the Pharisees back to much the same period (Hagigah 2:2; Aboth 1:3-15), as Jacob Neusner points out,[8] and the history of the Essenes has been plausibly reconstructed from Qumran data as also commencing at about this era.[9] The Pharisaic school seems, at an early stage, to have had a decided ascendancy, but about 110 B.C. the ruling high priest John Hyrcanus broke with the Pharisees and associated himself with the Sadducees (Josephus, *Antiquities* 13:10:5f., or 13:288-98). Both these parties had accepted the Maccabaean high-priesthood, which began when Jonathan Maccabaeus became high priest in 152 B.C., but it appears from the Qumran evidence that the Essenes had from the beginning rejected it and started setting up their separate communities under their own priesthood; and before the destruction of the Temple the Essenes had been excommunicated from Temple worship (Josephus, *Antiquities*, 18:1:5, or 18:19). This separate existence that they led probably explains why they never actually figure in the New Testament (unless, indeed, the "Herodians" are the Essenes).[10] From 110 B.C. onwards, the Sadducees had more or less continuous possession of the high-

[8] *The Rabbinic Traditions about the Pharisees before 70*, vol. 3, p. 306f.

[9] For example, by J. T. Milik, in his *Ten Years of Discovery*, ch. 3.

[10] The chief grounds for thinking that "Herodians" might mean Essenes are that in Mark 3:6 the Herodians appear to share the Pharisees' extreme concern for the Sabbath rest, which the Essenes certainly did, and that Herod the Great is known to have displayed particular favour towards the Essenes (see Josephus, *War* 2:8:9, or 2:147; *Antiquities* 15:10:4f., or 15:371f., 378). For a full statement of the case, see Constantin Daniel, "Les 'Hérodiens' du Nouveau Testament sont-ils des Esséniens?" and "Nouveaux arguments en faveur de l'identification des Hérodiens et des Esséniens", in *Revue de Qumran*, vol. VI, no. 21 (February 1967) and vol. VII, no. 27 (December 1970). A comparison of Mark 8:15 with Matt. 16:6-12 might suggest that the Herodians are the Sadducees, were it not for the fact that both gospels distinguish them (Matt. 22:15-34; Mark 12:13-18).

priesthood, but, according to Josephus, they remained few in number and had influence only with the rich, whereas the Pharisees had the multitude on their side; so much so, that in practice the Sadducees were normally obliged to conform to Pharisaic views (*Antiquities* 13:10:5f., or 13:288, 296, 298; 13:15:5, or 13:401f; 18:1:3f., or 18:15, 17). Neusner, following Morton Smith, considers these statements as incredible, and as simply reflecting the Pharisaic ascendancy at the time when Josephus wrote, after the destruction of the Temple.[11] However, there are various good reasons to accept Josephus's account, namely:

(i) It is his constant practice to write of Judaism with a historian's perspective, as if things still are as they were up to the destruction of the Temple, and to ignore subsequent developments.

(ii) His language in *Antiquities* 18:1:3f., or 18:15, 17, seems distinctly to imply that the predominating influence of the Pharisees obtained in the Temple, not just in the synagogue, since the Temple was the chief sphere where the Sadducees attained "positions of authority" or performed "sacred rites".

(iii) The Temple authorities excommunicated the Essenes: why did they not do the same to the Pharisees, except that they lacked the power?

(iv) Though a Pharisee himself, Josephus was not a bigoted one, and often criticises the Pharisees, reserving his chief praise for the Essenes. He would not, therefore, have been prone to exaggerate the Pharisees' earlier influence.

(v) Josephus's statements are fully supported by the rabbinical literature,[12] which, though unreservedly Pharisaic, and to that extent prejudiced, is quite independent of his account.

(vi) Evidence about the relative numbers and influence of the two schools is also provided by the New Testament. This time it is unbiased evidence, but once again it supports Josephus's account. In the Gospels and Acts, the Sadducees rarely make an appearance—only twice outside Jerusalem, and so outside the circle of the chief priests—whereas the Pharisees are meeting Jesus everywhere. The influence of the Pharisees with the multitude is confirmed by the fact that the New Testament constantly links them with the scribes, for the scribes are the teachers of the people (Matt. 7:29; Mark 9:11; 12:35) and as such sit in Moses' seat (Matt. 23:2f.). Moreover, it is stated

[11] *Rabbinic Traditions*, vol. 3, pp. 314, 329f.
[12] See Joachim Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus*, pp. 264-67.

that the Pharisaic custom of hand-washing is followed by "the Pharisees and all the Jews" (Mark 7:3).[13]

(vii) The numbers and potential influence of the Pharisees and Sadducees can to some extent be gauged by the amount of literature which they have left. Not a single recognizable Sadducean writing has come down to us,[14] whereas many Pharisaic writings have, and some of these date from the period when the Sadducees held the high-priesthood. It is no answer to say that the Pharisees, after they did attain supremacy, would not have handed down Sadducean literature, for, apart from the Hebrew Bible and the rabbinical writings, the literature with which we are concerned was preserved not by Jews but by Christians; and a good deal of Essene-type literature has survived, not merely Pharisaic.

Many of the distinctive tenets of the Pharisees, Sadducees and Essenes are listed in Josephus or the New Testament, and additional information is provided by Hippolytus (in his interesting variant form of Josephus's main account), and by the Mishnah, the Dead Sea Scrolls and related writings.[15] The following are among the more important differences:

(a) The Essenes had their own regulations about lustrations and sacrifices, which separated them from the other two schools (Josephus, *Antiquities* 18:1:5, or 18:19; cp. *War* 2:8:5, 7, 9f., 12, or 2:129, 138, 149f., 159). The same is evidently true in measure of the Sadducees. And, to a greater or lesser degree, all three schools seem to have differed on the calendar (see ch. 5).

(b) The Pharisees had their own rules about the Sabbath rest (Mishnah Shabbath), and so did the Essenes, the rules of the Essenes being exceptionally rigorous (Josephus, *War* 2:8:9, or 2:147; Jubilees 50:6-13; Damascus Document, CD, 10:14-11:18). The Sadducees perhaps contented themselves with the Biblical rules.

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[13] It appears from the rabbinical literature that the influence of the Pharisees was greater in Judaea than in Galilee (see G. H. Dalman, *Sacred Sites and Ways*, E.T., London: SPCK, 1935, pp.7-10), but the New Testament shows that even in Galilee their influence was not inconsiderable. The deviations of Galilee from Pharisaic law seem to have been due to its remoteness from Jerusalem and to its inhabitants' characteristic independence of mind, not to the influence of Sadducees or Essenes. Louis Finkelstein argues that the Galileans agreed with the school of Shammai over against that of Hillel, rather than being non-Pharisaic (*The Pharisees*, Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1938, ch.3).

[14] Ecclesiastes, Ecclesiasticus and 1 Maccabees have been supposed by some to be of Sadducean authorship, but see note 59 below.

[15] For comprehensive surveys of the disagreements between the Pharisees and the Sadducees, see H.L. Strack and P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, vol. 4, pp. 344-352; Jean Le Moyne, *Les Sadducéens* (Études Bibliques, Paris: Gabalda, 1972), pp. 165-317; the revised Schürer (as cited in note 6 above), vol. 2, pp. 381-414.

(c) The Sadducees denied the existence of spirits, which the Pharisees affirmed (Acts 23:8f.). This probably refers primarily to the survival of the human spirit after death, which it was characteristic of the Sadducees to deny (Josephus *War* 2:8:14, or 2:165; *Antiquities* 18:1:4, or 18:16) and of the Pharisees and Essenes to affirm (*War* 2:8:11, 14, or 2:154-58, 163; *Antiquities* 18:1:3, 5, or 18:14, 18).[16]

(d) The Sadduceees denied the future personal judgement, which the Pharisees and Essenes affirmed (Josephus, *War* 2:8:11, 14, or 2:155-57, 163, 165; *Antiquities* 18:1:3, or 18:14).

(e) All three schools differed in their views on divine sovereignty and human responsibility, the Essenes stressing the former, the Sadducees stressing the latter and the Pharisees following a middle course (Josephus, *War* 2:8:14, or 2:162-65; *Antiquities* 13:5:9, or 13:171-73; 18:1:3, 5, or 18:13, 18).

(f) The Sadducees completed their denial of the future life by denying the resurrection of the body (Mark 12:18; Acts 23:8). The Pharisees, on the other hand, affirmed it (Luke 20:39; Acts 23:6, 8; Josephus, *War* 2:8:14, or 2:163; *Antiquities* 18:1:3, or 18:14). According to Hippolytus, the Essenes also affirmed it (*Refutation* 9:27), but not according to Josephus, apparently (*War* 2:8:11, or 2:154-58). This may be a matter on which different groups of Essenes held different views: Hippolytus states that there were four such differing groups, quite apart from the marrying Essenes (*Refutation* 9:26, 28), whom Josephus also mentions (*War* 2:8:13, or 2:160f.).[17]

(g) The Sadducees denied the existence of angels, which the Pharisees affirmed (Acts 23:8f.). The Essenes also affirmed it, taking particular interest in the angels' names (Josephus, *War* 2:8:7, or 2:142). Acts is the only evidence for the Sadducean denial of the existence of angels, but if they denied the survival of the human spirit outside the body, it is entirely congruous that they should also have denied the purely spiritual existence of angels.

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[16] The idea that the Jews had no conception of an intermediate, disembodied state between death and resurrection is certainly not true of the Jews of the first century A.D.: see G. W. E. Nickelsburg Jr, *Resurrection, Immortality and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism* (Harvard Theological Studies 26, Cambridge Mass: Harvard University Press, 1972). Neither Philo nor Josephus hesitates to express his belief in the immortality of the soul (Philo, *Quaestiones et Solutiones in Genesin* 1:70, 76, 85; 3:11; Josephus, *War* 3:8:5, or 3:372; *Antiquities* 17:13:5, or 17:354), and Josephus uses the same language, in the passages cited in the text, to describe the belief of the Pharisees and Essenes.

[17] The resurrection is taught in 1 Enoch 91:10, but is otherwise hard to trace in Essene and Qumran literature. For a full discussion, see Emile Puech, *La croyance des Esséniens en la vie future* (Etudes Bibliques, NS, 21-22, Paris: Gabalda, 1993). Where Hippolytus speaks of four differing groups among the Essenes, Josephus speaks of four grades of seniority. Both may perhaps be true, and the writers agree about the marrying Essenes.

(h) The Pharisees upheld oral tradition, which the Sadducees rejected, appealing to Scripture alone (Mark 7:1-13; Josephus, *Antiquities* 13:10:6, or 13:296-98; 18:1:3f., or 18:12, 16). The Essenes seem to have agreed with the Sadducees on this, though they relied also on sectarian writings (Josephus, *War* 2:8:6f., or 2:136, 142).

The Pre-History of the Three Great Schools

This, then, is what we know of the three schools in the period after the middle of the second century B.C. Is there anything more to be known? Two facts and two widespread assumptions now suggest that there is, and that some, at least, of the three schools had a pre-history:

(i) the age of the Enoch manuscripts from Qumran shows that the earliest part of this literature, with its many Essene traits, goes back behind the Hellenizing crisis of the second century B.C., which has usually been supposed to be the period of origin of the three Jewish schools;

(ii) the Book of Dreams, the fourth of the five books making up 1 Enoch (1 En. 83-90), which was written about 164 B.C., says that a sort of proto-Essene movement preceded the emergence of the Essene party proper, and dates its rise in a way which (when related to other Essene chronological texts) points to about 251 B.C.;

(iii) it is not to be assumed that all three schools were champions of novel opinions. It seems more likely that at least one of the schools was maintaining the conventional opinions, and if we can identify that school, we have a school with a pre-history. The question is, which school? The now common representation of the Sadducean movement as more conservative in outlook than the Pharisaic (so Schürer, Jeremias, Zeitlin, Hengel, Le Moyne, etc. by contrast with Tcherikover and most older authors) conflicts both with the testimony of ancient literature and with the analogy of later biblicist movements in Judaism and Christianity; and

(iv) the hypothesis of Mlle Jaubert that the Essene movement, at least in its calendar, was also more conservative than the Pharisaic, can be shown to be very unlikely, both from the character of its calendar, as compared with other ancient calendars, and from the general tendencies of the Essene movement. However, a conservative school, whichever it was, remains a distinct possibility.

These considerations suggest that the motives and relationships of the three schools, though so often discussed before, need to be re-examined, as far as the limited evidence permits; and that the antecedents of some, at least, of them need to be sought in a period before, not during, the Hellenizing crisis

of 175 B.C. onwards, and so in different conditions from those which then prevailed. The narrative of the emergence of the three schools needs to be retold, and, since they were schools of piety, the main emphasis needs to be laid not on political or sociological factors, but on religious ones.

Before going further, however, we must pause to establish the above four points.

(A) With regard to the first point, on p. 93 the pioneering work of J. T. Milik was drawn upon, as showing that the oldest Qumran manuscripts of the Astronomical Book (1 Enoch 72-82) date from the late third or early second century B.C., and the oldest of the Book of Watchers (1 En. 1-36) from the first half of the second century B.C. The actual composition of the two books would be likely to be earlier still, and chapter five went on to argue that it is to be placed in the second half of the third century B.C., the earliest parts having probably been written (and the calendar contained in them devised) right at the beginning of that period, though not sooner. It has been shown elsewhere that the two books reflect eight characteristic Essene concerns (the Essene calendar; Essene sabbatarianism; predestination; Essene angelology; Essene eschatology; opposition to magic and divination; asceticism; pacifism) and carry these back to the early date when the books were composed.[18] Since it can be demonstrated from the Septuagint Pentateuch and Ecclesiasticus that literature of a Pharisaic tendency goes back equally as far,[19] and since the absence of Sadducean literature can be no more significant in this period than it is later, the likelihood is that the tendencies manifested as three rival parties after the Hellenizing crisis of 175-152 B.C. were already present as distinct schools of thought (proto-Pharisaic, proto-Essene and proto-Sadducean, or at least proto-Pharisaic and proto-Essene) three quarters of a century earlier. That was a time when Palestine had been under Greek rule for the previous 80 years or so, during which Hellenism had been busily at work, though without causing the confrontations which it was later to provoke, when it adopted aggressive policies.

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[18] See the writer's article "The Earliest Enoch Literature and its Calendar", in *Revue de Qumran*, vol. X, no. 39 (Feb. 1981), pp. 388-398. Nine concerns are there listed, not eight, but one (the jubilee-year) depends on the account of the writings of Enoch given in the Book of Jubilees, which we saw in note 37 on p. 118 may include the writings of successors as well.

[19] The Septuagint Pentateuch (c.275 B.C.) introduces angels where neither the text nor the context of the Massoretic or Samaritan Pentateuch strictly requires it to (Gen. 6:2; Exod. 4:24; Deut. 32:8, 43; 33:2), which a Sadducean translation would not do; and it endorses the Pharisaic dating of the Sheaf and Pentecost (Lev. 23:11, 15f.), contrary to the views of both the other two schools. Ben Sira and his grandson the Greek translator of his book (circa 180 B.C. onwards), who presumably belong to the same school of thought as each other, believe in angels and a future life (Sir. 7:17 Greek; 44:16; 46:20; 48:9-11, 21 Greek; 49:14), unlike the Sadducees, and accept a lunar calendar (Sir. 43:6f; 50:6 Hebrew), unlike the Essenes.

(B) With regard to the second point, it will be shown in the next chapter how important, in the schematic chronology of the Essenes, was the period of 70 year-weeks, or 490 years. Now, the period of Israel's blindness in 1 Enoch 89-90, during which she is ruled over by a succession of 70 angelic shepherds, could be another example of the period of 70 year-weeks, or 490 years; and since it begins during the monarchy and ends with the contemporaneous rise of Judas Maccabaeus and of the Essene party, which the Essenes dated 390 years after the beginning of the Exile (Damascus Document, CD, 1:5-9), it evidently is such another example.[20] This means that the period of blindness starts 100 years before the Exile, and if the Exile is dated from the second deportation (at the end of the reign of Jehoiachin), and biblical chronology is taken at its face-value, it starts about the year of the accession of the wicked king Manasseh.[21] The general scheme of the 70 shepherd-reigns is set out on pp. 235-238, but what is of chief concern to us here is that after 58 of the 70 reigns the blindness of the nation begins (but only begins) to be alleviated:

> And I saw until that 23 [more] had undertaken the pasturing and completed in their several periods 58 times. But behold lambs were borne by those white sheep, and they began to open their eyes and to see, and to cry to the sheep. Yea, they cried to them, but they did not hearken to what they said to them, but were exceedingly deaf, and their eyes were very exceedingly blinded. (1 En. 90:5-7, Charles's translation).

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[20] The average length of an angel-reign could not be less than 6 years, otherwise the period of blindness would not begin until after the end of the monarchy, nor more than 9 years, otherwise it would begin before the translation of Elijah, which actually precedes it (1 En. 89:52, 54). In this limited range of possibilities, 7 is much the most probable figure—one which was sacred to the Essenes.

[21] The singling out of Manasseh in this way is probably due not only to his general godlessness, which caused the Old Testament writers to attribute the judgement of the Exile to his sins (2 Kgs. 23:26; 24:3; Jer. 15:4), but to the fact that he set up an abomination of desolation in the Temple (2 Kgs. 21:7; 2 Chron. 33:7), a profanation so recently repeated by Antiochus Epiphanes, and to his violation of some of the characteristic concerns of early Essenism, listed above. For Manasseh practised magic and divination (2 Kgs. 21:6; 2 Chron. 33:6), and it is quite possible that the Essenes ascribed to him the abolition of the jubilee-year as well. The Pharisees believed that the jubilee-year had not been observed since the Exile, and Siphra, the old halakic midrash on Leviticus, fixes the time of its cessation at the carrying away of the northern tribes by the Assyrians (Be-Har 2:3). If the Essenes shared this belief, it would mean, on the basis of their chronology, that the last jubilee year to be celebrated (before the Essenes revived it) was celebrated by the good king Hezekiah in Anno Mundi 3234, that the carrying away of the northern tribes followed in A.M. 3236/7, and that the first jubilee year to be disregarded fell in the reign of Manasseh, A.M. 3283. This would leave two more jubilee years before the return from the Exile, one in A.M. 3332, during the reign of the good king Josiah but before the discovery of the Book of the Law in his 18th year, and the other in A.M. 3381, during the Exile itself. By the time of the return, therefore, though it fell in a jubilee year (A.M. 3430), the pattern of neglect would have seemed to the Essene chronologists, looking back, to have been well established. For the general Essene chronology, on which these figures are based, see the next chapter.

Since the Book of Dreams, of which 1 En. 89-90 forms part, is a work of clear Essene affiliation, found at Qumran, this passage means that, with the commencement of the 59th reign, the forerunners of the Essenes appear upon the stage of history. The murderous Gentiles continue their oppression during the 12 reigns which are left, and one of the enlightened lambs is among their victims: "The ravens flew upon those lambs, and took one of those lambs" (1 En. 90:8). This is generally understood to refer to the pious high priest Onias III, murdered by the Syrians at the instigation of his Hellenizing successor Menelaus, and it indicates that Onias III was an Essene sympathiser. Help, however, is at hand, with the rise of Judas Maccabaeus, and at his rise the blindness of the nation comes to an end, presumably denoting the definite emergence of the Essene party: "I saw till there sprouted a great horn on one of those sheep, and their eyes were opened. And it looked at them and their eyes opened" (1 En. 90:9f.). The Gentiles fight against Judas, but unsuccessfully, and he is still unsubdued when God intervenes in judgment and the recording angel reports to him "the destruction which those 12 last shepherds had wrought" (1 En. 90:17). The last 12 of the 70 angel-reigns have consequently come to an end soon after the rise of Judas in 167 B.C., with which the emergence of the Essene party coincides. The proto-Essene movement, however (or 'pre-Essene', as Milik calls it), has already been in existence from the beginning of those 12 reigns, and since each reign lasts a year-week, it must have commenced in or around 251 B.C.

Though this date is found in the Book of Dreams alone, the period of 390 years, from the beginning of the Exile to the rise of the Essenes, on which it partly depends, is reflected in two other texts—not only in the Damascus Document but in Greek Testament of Levi 17.[22]

(C) As regards the third point, it is often overlooked that a distinction needs to be drawn between conservative movements and reforming movements. Traditionalist movements are the ones which are most characteristically conservative, and the upholders of tradition were the Pharisees, not the Sadducees, who rejected tradition and claimed to follow Scripture alone (see Josephus, *Antiquities* 13:10:6, or 13:296-98; 18:1:3f., or 18:12-16). In this the Sadducees anticipated later biblicist movements, such as the Karaite movement in eighth-century Judaism and the Protestant Reformation in sixteenth-century Christianity, both of which were reforming movements, regarded in their time not as conservative but as radical.[23]

[22] See pp. 233-234.

[23] In Islam, one might compare the work of Abu Hanifa, an early reformer who, in the view of some writers, considered it necessary to use his personal judgement on the meaning of the Koran and not to depend on tradition (thus W. M. Patton, in Hastings's *Encyclopaedia of*

It is true, of course, that in returning to Scripture these movements aimed to return to an earlier and purer era of the faith than that represented by the tradition which had developed since and by which it had been overlaid; and it is also true that in many matters they were doubtless successful in their attempt to do so. Nevertheless, they could only succeed by boldly discarding much that had come to be generally accepted, and in some cases generally accepted for a very long time, and the conservatives were necessarily those who opposed this policy, not those who promoted it. Moreover, since the meaning of Scripture is not always self-evident, the protagonists of biblicist movements have always been liable to disagree among themselves as to the teaching of the Bible on various matters. This was a marked characteristic both of the Karaites and of the Protestant Reformers, and precisely the same seems to have been true of the Sadducees. For, after telling us that the Pharisees "show respect and deference to their elders, nor do they rashly presume to contradict their proposals", Josephus goes on to say that the Sadducees, by way of contrast, "own no observance of any sort apart from the Laws; in fact, they reckon it a virtue to dispute with the teachers of the path of wisdom that they pursue" (*Antiquities* 18:1:3f., or 18:12, 16, Feldman's Loeb translation). There may be a hint here of the Sadducees' roughness of manner (*War* 2:8:14, or 2:166), but the main distinction which Josephus is making between the Pharisaic and Sadducean manner of disputing is that the Pharisees were always ready to defer to any tradition which could be quoted from earlier generations, while the Sadducees were not. Consequently, the only expositions which became traditional among the Sadducees were those which proceeded from biblical statements of unmistakable meaning, from the Sadducean scepticism about angels, predestination and the life to come, or from a desire to contradict the traditional expositions of the Pharisees.

The one point on which the Sadducees do look very traditional, their rejection of the life to come, may in fact have been due not to traditional teaching, i.e. the agnosticism of much of the Old Testament on this subject (still echoed in Tobit 3:6,10-13; 13:2; Baruch 2:17, and even in Sir. 17:27f; 41:3f.), though it was no doubt defended on those grounds, but to the same cause as some other Sadducean peculiarities which do not look nearly as traditional, such as their denial of predestination (see Josephus, *War* 2:8:14, or 2:162-65; *Antiquities* 13:5:9, or 13:171-73) and of the existence of angels (see Acts 23:8f.).[24] This other cause would be the prevailing intellectual

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Religion and Ethics, vol. 12, p. 114f.). Abu Hanifa was a contemporary of Anan, the founder of Karaism, and had a direct influence upon him.

[24] Those who hold that the Sadducees were conservative are apt to suggest that the Sadducees only denied the developments of angelology found among the Essenes and Pharisees, not the existence of angels as such. There is no basis in the sources for this

influence at the time when the Sadducean movement arose. For if, as now seems not unlikely, the Sadducean movement, like the other two, goes back to the third and not just to the second century B.C., it goes back to a time when Greek wisdom was already highly influential, without having yet become highly controversial. It would be natural for any reforming movement of that era to try to fortify itself from the resources of Greek wisdom, and in denying the existence of spirits, the future life and divine predestination the Sadducees were doing just what the Epicureans had been doing since the late fourth century B.C., while the strong assertions to the contrary made by the Essenes parallel those made by the Stoics from about the beginning of the third century B.C. onwards.[25] In drawing on such sources, the Sadducees were introducing a reductionist element into their thinking, and the Essenes a speculative element, which were really alien to biblicist principles. Yet this again is a common characteristic of biblicist movements, which, being anti-traditional in outlook, are prone to enlist the aid of reductionism or speculation, as being likewise anti-traditional.[26]

(D) Regarding the last of the four points with which we began, the supposed conservatism of the Essenes, the Essene movement is in fact clearly stated in its own writings to be not a conservative but a reforming movement, like the Sadducean. In particular, the Book of Dreams in 1 Enoch states that, prior to

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conjecture. Since the Sadducees certainly denied the survival of the human spirit after the death of the body, as affirmed by the Essenes and Pharisees (see Josephus, *War* 2:8:11, or 2:154-58; 2:8:14, or 2:163-65; *Antiquities* 18:1:3-5, or 18:14-18), it is entirely congruous that they should also have denied the purely spiritual existence of angels. Such a denial must have involved them in some strange exegesis of Scripture (even of the Pentateuch), but if their exegesis as a whole was reforming not conservative, this is not so surprising. The Sadducees were not pure literalists, even if they tended that way, and according to Hippolytus (*Refutation* 9:29), whose knowledge of Judaism is exceptionally good, they expounded passages about the resurrection in an equally unnatural fashion, as referring to the children that one leaves behind on earth when one dies. The same chapter of Hippolytus, incidentally, is the source of the idea (supported also by Origen, *Commentary on Matthew* 17:35f.) that the Sadducees, like the Samaritans, accepted no part of the Old Testament except the Pentateuch. However, since there is not any suggestion of this in Jewish literature, and since Hippolytus completely identifies the Sadducees with the Samaritans, locating them at Samaria, it may be that after the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple some of the Sadducees fled to Samaria and conformed to Samaritan beliefs.

[25] On the existence of spirits (δαιμόνια)and the immortality of the human spirit, Stoic teaching owed something to Plato and Epicurean to Aristotle; but it was in Stoicism and Epicureanism that these teachings were combined with assertions or denials of divine predestination and providence.—Josephus compares *Pharisaism* with Stoicism (*Life* 2, or 12), and elsewhere compares Essenism with *Pythagoreanism* (*Antiquities* 15:10:4, or 15:371), and though these comparisons are not inept, the Stoic parallels are even more pronounced in Essenism, as Hippolytus recognises (*Refutation* 9:27).

[26] Thus, the original Karaism of Anan had a strong speculative element in it, as did the Protestantism of the Anabaptists. On the other hand, reductionism also quickly developed in Karaism, and the reductionist tendency of Zwingli in early Protestantism was often to recur, in varied and sometimes very exaggerated forms, in later Protestant history.

the appearance of the Essene party and the movement which led up to it during the preceding 12 angel-reigns, i.e. the preceding 84 years, the nation had been involved in blindness and apostasy since the period of the monarchy (1 En. 89:54ff.). The Essenes attempted to go back to the purer age before the long reign of error began, but that was centuries earlier, and they were dependent for their knowledge of the purer age on the Old Testament and speculation. Essenism was therefore unmistakably a reforming movement, and chaptee five argued that the Essene calendar shows all the marks of being one of the Essene reforms.

The same thing is shown by the important halakic letter 4QMMT. This missive was addressed by the men of Qumran to members of another school of thought, very likely the Temple authorities, who were evidently following Pharisaic interpretations. The restraint of the letter is notable. It regularly introduces its expositions by the expression "we think" (חושבים) or "we say" (אומרים). This is not the language of traditionalists protesting against innovations, but of reformers putting forward unfamiliar interpretations. Equally significant is the fact that, in support of its interpretations, the letter always appeals to Scripture and never to custom.

The Essenes resembled the Sadducees not only in being reformers but in regarding themselves, or their priestly leaders, as Zadokites. It is now generally agreed that the title "Sadducee" is derived from the name "Zadok", and this conclusion has sometimes been used as a reason for regarding the Sadducees as conservative, meaning that they were the heirs of the family of Zadok, who held the high priesthood until the deposing of Jeshua-Jason in 172 B.C. We now know, however, that the Essenes also made Zadokite claims (Rule of the Community, 1QS, 5:2,9; Damascus Document, CD, 3:21-4:4), and they cannot both have been the heirs. The direct heir was Onias III's son Onias, who fled to Egypt and founded the temple of Leontopolis (see Josephus, *Antiquities* 13:3:1-3, or 13:62-73, etc.); and if the Sadducees' claim to Zadokite descent had been at all strong, they would not have won over the Maccabean high priests, as they did in the time of John Hyrcanus and thenceforward. Rather, they would have been regarded as a threat to the dynasty's position, since the Maccabees were of the course of Jehoiarib (1 Macc. 2:1; 14:29; Josephus, *Life* 1, or 1-5), not of the course of Jedaiah, as the family of Zadok was (Ezra 2:36; Neh. 7:39). Judas, when he cleansed the Temple, appointed "blameless priests" (1 Macc. 4:42), but not a new high priest, leaving the non-Zadokite Menelaus at least nominally in office; and the Hasidim, or "pious", after Menelaus's death, were prepared to welcome Alcimus (Jakim) as high priest (1 Macc. 7:12-14), though he was not, so Josephus says, of the family of Zadok (*Antiquities* 12:9,7, or 12:387;

20:10:3, or 20:235);[27] and both these facts suggest that, after Onias's flight to Egypt, there were no close relatives of the family remaining in Palestine.[28] It is conceivable that Sadducean views had had some supporters among the Zadokite high priests, but such views do not seem to have characterised the family, for the Essenes looked back to Onias III, murdered by the Syrians at the instigation of Menelaus, as a predecessor of theirs (1 En. 90:8), the Pharisees looked back in the same way to Simon II (M. Aboth 1:2f.), and since Jeshua-Jason was the pioneer of Hellenizing syncretism,[29] this means that the latest Zadokite high priest who can have favoured the Sadducees was Onias II, back in the third century B.C. All in all, it seems improbable that the Sadducees were stressing their genealogy or even the known views of the Zadokite family in calling themselves Zadokites. More likely, they used the title in the same way as the Essenes, in the passages from the Rule of the Community and the Damascus Document cited above, with conscious

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[27] Alcimus does indeed boast, in 2 Macc. 14:7, that the high priesthood was his "ancestral glory"; but this may merely mean that he had a better claim than his predecessor Menelaus, who was not even of the course of Jedaiah. 2 Maccabees tells us that Menelaus's brother Simon, the captain of the Temple, and so Menelaus himself, was "of the tribe/course of Benjamin" (2 Macc. 3:4; 4:23). This reading is not impossible, as is sometimes supposed, since in the Septuagint of 1 Chron. 24:9 the sixth of the 24 priestly courses is indeed called Benjamin (= Heb. *Mijamin*). However, the Old Latin and Armenian of 2 Maccabees, which are independent translations from the Greek, give the name as Bilgah, the fifteenth of the 24 courses, and this reading is now generally preferred, on the grounds that φυλή is an unusual term for a priestly course, and that it is therefore easy to see how a scribe, taking it in the ordinary sense of "tribe", and knowing that the only one of the twelve tribes beginning with B was Benjamin, might have altered Bilgah to Benjamin accordingly. A further reason for accepting the reading Bilgah is suggested by a fact which puzzled the rabbis. From an early date, the course of Bilgah had been prohibited from officiating in the Temple, the preceding course of Jeshebeab doing an extra week's duty instead (see p. 82); and the generally accepted explanation of this was that Miriam, a daughter of Bilgah (i.e. a daughter of some priest of that course), had apostatised, married an officer of the Greek kings, and blasphemed the altar—which seemed an inadequate reason for penalizing the whole course (M. Sukkah 5:8; Tos Sukkah 4:28; Jer Sukkah 5:8; Bab Sukkah 56 b). If, however, her father was the high priest Menelaus, she was not just some priest's daughter, as the rabbis supposed, and her misdeed was only the most flagrant incident in the whole syncretising campaign which her father directed. No other course was penalized in the same way, which may indicate that the other two Hellenizing high priests, not only the Zadokite Jeshua-Jason but also Alcimus, belonged to the usual course of Jedaiah, as suggested above.

[28] There were, indeed, distant, and no doubt junior, branches of the family, living in obscurity, if one chose to seek them out (see Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus* p. 192f.), but at that date no one did. The language of 1 Macc. 14:41 about Simon Maccabeaus is doubtless significant: "The Jews and the priests were well pleased that Simon should be their leader and high priest for ever, until there should arise a faithful prophet." This indicates that, though his claim was not indisputable, there was no obvious alternative.

[29] Though, as Abigador Tcherikover plausibly argues, Jeshua-Jason was more cautious in his Hellenizing than his successor Menelaus, and did not directly violate the Temple or its worship (*Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews*, E.T., Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1959, pp. 165-67), he must have known and intended the syncretism which would result from making Jerusalem into a Greek *polis*. So the judgement passed upon him by 2 Macc. 4:13f. is not unjust. See also note 74 .

reference to the way the "sons of Zadok" are described in Ezek. 44:15; 48:11, and as meaning those priests who were faithful to God.[30] If so, conservatism was not at issue.

THE TRUE TRADITIONALISTS

Josephus, when he tells us that the Sadducees were not traditionalists, tells us equally plainly that the Pharisees were (*Antiquities* 13:10:6, or 13:297; 18:1:3, or 18:12; also 17:2:4, or 17:41; *Life* 38f., or 191, 198). This means that the Pharisaic habit of mind was characteristically conservative, even though it is easy to quote examples of Pharisaic traditions which cannot go back to the biblical period, and which must therefore, when first put forward, have been innovations. There is a good discussion of these innovations by G F Moore in his *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era.*[31] It was such innovations that would have provoked the biblicist reforms of the Sadducees and Essenes. Yet, as regards biblical exegesis, whenever the exegesis of the Pharisees is not *obviously* artificial, and is not *merely* an application of Scripture to changing conditions, it is probably older, and is more likely to be original, than that of the other two schools, simply in virtue of the fact that the Pharisees were traditionalists, and that traditionalists are essentially conservative.

If later biblicist reforms throw light on Sadduceeism and Essenism, so do later traditionalist movements on Pharisaism. The innovations which the Pharisees made are not at all surprising when compared with those made by traditionalist churches or parties in Christianity and (to some extent) Islam. In such circles, tradition does not simply perform its essential task of transmitting and applying the teaching of Scripture, but readily develops a life of its own; for it tends to *add* to Scripture where Scripture is restrained, and to *adapt* Scripture, not just to changing conditions but to the weakness of the flesh; and these developments are liable, in time, to become

[30] For a careful discussion of all the Qumran references to the sons of Zadok, see Jacob Liver, "The 'Sons of Zadok the Priests' in the Dead Sea Sect", in *Revue de Qumran*, vol. VI, no. 21 (Feb. 1967). He distinguishes between the sons of Zadok and the other priests at Qumran, and also between the literal and figurative sons of Zadok. This is perhaps over-elaborate, but it recognises both that the Qumran community were led by priests, and also that they applied the name "sons of Zadok" to those priests in a sense which was not merely genealogical. See also J. M. Baumgarten's article "The Heavenly Tribunal and the Personification of Sedeq", in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*, (ed. H. Temporini & W. Haase, Berlin: De Gruyter, 1979), for the common linking of the name Zadok, at Qumran and elsewhere, with the similar term for righteousness. The interesting fact has recently come to light that some MSS of the Community Rule did not include the opening chapters, with their references to the "sons of Zadok", and this fact too perhaps favours a figurative rather than a literal interpretation.

[31] Vol. 1, pp. 33, 259f.

sacrosanct, and to resist attempts to test and correct them by Scripture, simply because tradition itself, of which they are now part, is so highly respected.

The characteristic *additions* which Pharisaic tradition makes to Scripture are its preventative measures—the "making of a fence around the Law" so as to "keep a man far from transgression" (Mishnah Aboth 1:1, Berakoth 1:1). Examples are the festal observance of the eves of festivals, not just the festivals themselves (Judith 8:6; Mishnah Taanith 4:2, Hagigah 3:7); the eating of even common food, not just sacred food, in conditions of ceremonial cleanness (Tosephta Demai 2:2); and the reduction of the 40 stripes of Deut. 25:3 to 39 stripes, lest the prescribed maximum should be accidentally exceeded (2 Cor. 11:24; Josephus, *Antiquities* 4:8:21, or 4:238; M. Makkoth 3:10, 14). The characteristic *adaptations* of Scripture which Pharisaic tradition contains are admitted to "make void the Law" but only because "it is time to work for the Lord" (M. Berakoth 9:5), i.e. because of the exigence of the times. A good example is the prozbol, an attested declaration that a particular loan would *not* be remitted in the sabbatical year in accordance with Deut. 15:1-11, which the Mishnah tells us was instituted by Hillel when he saw the people refusing to make loans (M. Shebiith 10:3, Gittin 4:3). The Mishnah calls this "a precaution for the general good", but the trouble is that (like the rules about korban and substitute oaths, condemned by Jesus in Mark 7:9-13 and Matt. 23:16-22 respectively as being inconsistent with divine commandments in the Pentateuch) the prozbol strikes at the root of the law in question. Hillel, of course, is well known for his greater leniency than Shammai, but there are other similar adaptations on which no difference between the schools of Hillel and Shammai is known, namely, devices for avoiding the infliction of the death penalty for certain capital offences (M. Sanhedrin 7:8; 8:1-5; 11:1); and there is one on which they certainly both agreed, the erub (M. Erubin 1:2; 6:4, 6), a contrivance by which the Pharisees evaded the stringency of their own exegesis of the Sabbath laws, and extended the Sabbath-day limits on travel and burden-bearing. There is no reason to doubt that the contemporary problems which Hillel attempted to meet by the prozbol were real, and it could be that in these other two instances also the Pharisees were reacting to serious contemporary problems. It is unlikely, however, that the problems were *merely* contemporary, if those which prompted the prozbol are anything to judge by; moreover, the measures taken to meet the problems were in each case permanent; and this means that to say "it is time to work for the Lord" was really a pretence—the laws were not being suspended but effectively abolished.

With exceptions of these kinds, which themselves in due course became traditional, the Pharisees devoted almost all their attention to handing down

and elaborating the traditional understanding of the Pentateuch. If one adds certain traditional customs, which the Pharisees also maintained, this understanding, or interpretation, constitutes the oral "Law" which, according to the oldest traditions in the Mishnah, those of Aboth 1, was received by Moses from Sinai, and committed by Moses to Joshua, by Joshua to the Elders (i.e. those of Josh. 24:31; Judg. 2:7), by the Elders to the Prophets, by the Prophets to the men of the Great Synagogue, and by the last of the men of the Great Synagogue, Simon the Just, to named Pharisaic teachers. The interpretation did of course undergo development in successive generations, as conditions changed and new questions were posed to the text; moreover, it was no doubt subtly, if not more patently, affected by the innovations described above; then again, the Pharisaic concentration on the laws of tithing and cleanness, discussed below, led to an imbalance which was afterwards to draw piercing criticism from Jesus (Luke 11:39-42); and the probable result of all this is to make the exegesis of the Pentateuch which we find in the rabbinical literature very different from what can well have existed in the time of Ezra. And yet the difference was not intentional. It had been brought about by men whose intention was to defend and adapt as necessary—but above all to transmit—the traditional interpretation, and on a good many points and in a good many respects they doubtless continued to do just that.

One of the indications that the Pharisees were more conservative than the other two schools is the support that they gave to the traditional customs mentioned in the previous paragraph. Some of these customs have no known connection with Pharisaism except that the Pharisees supported them, but were very popular, and were probably of ancient origin. An example is the water-libation at the feast of Tabernacles. The Mishnah states that on one occasion a priest showed his contempt for this non-scriptural addition to the ritual of the feast by pouring the water over his feet instead of on the altar, whereupon the people pelted him with citrons (Sukkah 4:9). The Tosephta (Tos Sukkah 3:16) and a baraita in the Babylonian Talmud (Sukkah 48b) say that he was a Sadducee (or "Boethusian", another name for a Sadducee), and Josephus confirms this by telling us that the militantly Sadducean high priest Alexander Jannaeus, who was in office from 103 to 76 B.C., was on one occasion pelted by the people with citrons when he was standing at the altar during the feast of Tabernacles (*Antiquities* 13:13:5, or 13:372). Clearly, the Sadducees despised the popular custom, and, since it is not mentioned in the descriptions of the ritual of the feast in Jubilees 16:20-31; 32:4-30; Temple Scroll 27-29, detailed though they are, one may surmise that the Essenes also

viewed it critically. Only the conservatives, i.e. the Pharisees, insisted that it be maintained.[32]

Another indication that the Pharisees were more conservative than the other two schools lies in their unremitting controversy with "the people of the land", i.e. the negligent (M. Demai 2:2f, Hagigah 2:7, Horayoth 3:8, Tohoroth 8:2, etc; cp. John 7:49). This is a plank in the controversial platform of the Pharisees which does not seem to be found in that of the other two schools. The probable implication is that the Pharisees originated simply as a revival of zeal, against negligence, and not as the champions of controversial opinions, and that it was only the later rise of reform movements, challenging their conventional views, which made them one school of thought among three.

A third indication that the Pharisees were more conservative than the other two schools lies in their response to changing conditions. A large part of Pharisaic tradition is concerned with the application of the Pentateuch to questions which the latter does not directly answer—for example, the multitudinous applications of the command to rest on the Sabbath, detailed in Mishnah Shabbath. The Pentateuch, particularly from the time of Ezra onwards, was the basis of national law, and it was the courts that had to make this application. Unless there was to be manifest injustice, the legal precedents of what would today be called "case law" had to be memorised or recorded for use in other similar cases, as by the Pharisees they were, in their tradition. The Sadducees and Essenes, however, seem to have abolished this procedure, the Sadducees leaving each court to make its own decision on most matters (cp. p. 178), and the Essenes giving the court guidance mainly through their writings, which were often pseudonymous and retrojected their answers to modern questions into remote antiquity (cp. the Sabbath regulations of Jubilees 2:29f; 50:8-13, supposedly by Moses). The Pharisaic procedure, being the natural one, must also be presumed to be the original one, and the Sadducean and Essene procedures must be accounted polemical reactions against it.

A fourth indication that the Pharisees were more conservative than the other two schools is that they were much the largest of the three in membership. In almost any religious or intellectual movement, the traditionalists tend to have the largest following. Now, in the first century, according to both Philo (*Quod Omnis Probus Liber Sit* 75) and Josephus

[32] It is sometimes claimed that another popular custom of the feast of Tabernacles, the procession round the altar with willow-branches (M. Sukkah 4:5f.), was also maintained by the Pharisees against opposition from the other schools of thought. This is much less clear, however. We only know that the Boethusians objected to this happening on the Sabbath, not on the other days of the feast (Tos. Sukkah 3:1). To judge from Jubilees 16:31, the Essenes supported the custom, perhaps considering that it had biblical authority (cp. Lev. 23:40), though they too would doubtless have objected to the Sabbath rest being invaded to perform it.

(*Antiquities* 18:1:5, or 18:20), the Essenes numbered upwards of 4,000. The Pharisees, however, in the latter part of the previous century already numbered 6,000 (Josephus, *Antiquities* 17:2:4, or 17:42), while the Sadducees seem to have been the smallest school of all (*Antiquities* 13:10:6, or 13:298; 18:1:4, or 18:17).

A final indication that the Pharisees were the conservatives is that they had the masses on their side (*Antiquities* 13:10:5f, or 13:288-298; 13:15:5, or 13:401f; 18:1:3f, or 18:15-17). The religious allegiance of a nation is not easily transferred, and if the Pharisees possessed this, it is likely that they had done so since before the rivalry between the three schools came into the open, and that the reason they possessed it was that they, rather than the other two schools, were seen to be maintaining the views and practices which had long been customary. This is all the more likely in view of the Pharisees' relentless opposition to "the people of the land" (the negligent), which would not otherwise have inclined the masses to favour them. It is sometimes wondered how a party which, in Herod's reign, consisted of only 6,000 heads of families, could be said to have the support of the masses. However, what this doubtless means is that the 6,000 were actual "associates"—members admitted into the Pharisaic societies after undertaking to observe not only the Mosaic Law, in accordance with the Pharisaic interpretation, and those additional customs which the Pharisees maintained, but also those preventative measures which the Pharisees had devised, notably the eating of even common food in conditions of ceremonial cleanness. The masses would not have committed themselves to all this (otherwise they too would have been Pharisees), but, insofar as they observed the Mosaic Law, they observed it in accordance with the Pharisaic interpretation. It is significant that the Mishnah and Tosephta distinguish three sorts of Jews, not just the "associates" (חברים) and the "people(s) of the land" (עמי הארץ,עם הארץ), but also the "trustworthy" (נאמנים), an intermediate sort, observant of the Law, who could be trusted to have tithed their produce scrupulously, in accordance with the Pharisaic interpretation of the laws of tithing (M. Demai 2:2f; Tos Demai 2:2). It is reasonable to assume that the "trustworthy", since they undertook less, were much more numerous than the "associates", and gave backbone to the popular support which the Pharisees enjoyed. There will be further discussion of these different groupings in what follows.[33]

[33] Louis Finkelstein's sociological analysis, according to which the school of Hillel was drawn from the lower classes, could supply an additional reason why, at any rate from Hillel's time onwards, the masses supported the Pharisees; though it should be noted that, in Finkelstein's view, the Essenes also were drawn from the lower classes, and the Pharisees of the school of Shammai from the middle and upper classes mainly (*The Pharisees: the Sociological Background of their Faith*, p. 4f., etc.).

THE FOUR ERAS FROM EZRA TO THE MACCABEES

If, however, the Pharisaic movement was the conservative or traditionalist movement and the Sadducean and Essene movements were reforms, it follows that the Pharisaic movement began at an earlier era than the others. Yet we have seen that even these reforms go back well behind the Hellenizing crisis of 175 B.C. onwards (in which the Maccabees, with the support of the Hasidim, triumphed, and the three movements finally emerged as separate parties). The Hellenizing crisis is thus a third era. Moreover, we shall find below that the Pharisaic movement itself contrasts in various important respects with the work of Ezra, who opened the way for the later movements by making the Mosaic Law the returned exiles' rule of life, in separation from their syncretistic neighbours; and this means that Ezra belongs to an earlier era still. The upshot is a total of four eras, which may be entitled:

(i) The Era of Separation to the Law: Ezra and the Scribes.

(ii) The Era of Lay Revival: proto-Pharisaism.

(iii) The Era of Priestly Reform: proto-Essenism and proto-Sadduceeism

(iv) The Era of Conflict: (a) between Hasidim and Hellenizers.
(b) between Pharisees, Sadducees and Essenes.

The justification for these titles, in so far as it is not already clear, will become apparent in what follows, as the four eras are in turn examined.

1. *THE ERA OF SEPARATION TO THE LAW: EZRA AND THE SCRIBES*

The reason for the judgment of the Exile, so the books of the Prophets and the book of Kings teach, was the nation's inveterate disobedience to the Lord and her proneness to idolatrous syncretism. Against the background of this teaching, it is entirely understandable that the returned exiles should have concentrated on separation from the syncretistic and heathen peoples surrounding them and on obedience to the Book of the Law. Separation begins right from the time of Zerubbabel (Ezra 4:3; 6:21; 1 Esdras 5:70f; 7:13), and it is not obscurely indicated that his refusal of Samaritan help in rebuilding the Temple is due to their mixed race and mixed religion (Ezra 4:2f, 9f; 1 Esdras 5:69; cp. 2 Kgs. 17:24-41). There are also references, at the same early stage, to the Book of the Law (Ezra 3:2; 6:18; 1 Esdras 5:49; 7:6, 9).

Increased emphasis is placed upon separation with the coming of Ezra and Nehemiah (Neh. 9:2; 10:28), and especially upon abstaining from mixed marriages, in which even the high-priestly family had become involved (Ezra 9-10; Neh. 10:30; 13:4-9, 23-30; 1 Esdras 8:68 - 9:36). Whether Ezra and

Nehemiah allowed genuine proselytes to be admitted to the congregation, in accordance with Exod. 12:48f, is not clear: in their circumstances, they probably did not encourage the practice, nor perhaps was the neighbouring population much interested in it, but Neh. 13:1-3 may imply that they tolerated it, though not, of course, in the forbidden cases of Ammonites and Moabites (cp. Deut. 23:3-6).

Ezra and Nehemiah also placed greatly increased emphasis upon the Book of the Law (Neh. 8:1-18; 9:3; 10:34-37; 13:1-3; 1 Esdras 9:38-55), and it is in this connection that Ezra's title of סֹפֵר, "scribe" (Ezra 7:6ff; Neh. 8:1ff; 12:26, 36; cp. 1 Esdras 8:3, 25) is so significant, for he was scribe "in the Law of Moses", scribe "of the words of the commandments of the Lord and of his statutes to Israel", scribe "of the Law of the God of heaven" (Ezra 7:6, 11f, 21; 1 Esdras 8:3). Of this Law, Ezra the scribe was not simply a writer but a student and teacher, for he

> had set his heart to seek (or "search", דרש, cp. John 5:39; Acts 17:11) the Law of the Lord, and to do it, and to teach in Israel statutes and judgments (Ezra 7:10; cp. 1 Esdras 8:7).

We consequently find him reading it to the people (Neh. 8:1ff; 9:3; 13:1; 1 Esdras 9:38-55),[34] and the people conforming their lives to the specific commandments contained in it (Neh. 8:14-18; 10:29-39; 13:1-3). The Book of the Law had now become in a new sense a book to be studied, for the Exile had apparently replaced Hebrew by Aramaic as the normal language of the Jews (Neh. 8:7-9), and had thus for the first time made the language of the Pentateuch a learned tongue.

In the Near East of exilic and pre-exilic times, where literacy was not general, the scribe was respected because he was an educated man, and he had an important role at the royal court, where other significant tasks besides writing would frequently fall to him (as we see from the books of Kings and Chronicles). Whether Ezra had fulfilled such a role at the Persian court, and in this way had acquired both his title and the favour that he enjoyed from the king, we cannot be certain; but what does seem certain is that, before Ezra's time, "scribe" did not usually refer to those responsible for copying and teaching the Mosaic Law, as it was to do from Ezra's time onwards (only in Jer. 8:8, unless the "scribes" of 1 Chron. 24:6; 2 Chron. 34:13 had performed such tasks).

Nevertheless, even without the title of "scribe", the duty of teaching the Law had from ancient times rested upon the priests and Levites (Lev. 10:10f; Deut. 24:8; 33:10; Hos. 4:6; Jer. 18:18), and this continued to be the case

[34] Indeed, in 1 Esdras (Esdras A of the Septuagint) Ezra is often, though not always, called ἀναγνώστης "reader", instead of γραμματεύς "scribe" (1 Esdr. 8:8f; 9:39, 42, 49; contrast 8:3,25).

in the exilic and early post-exilic period (Ezek. 7:26; 44:23; Hag. 2:11; Mal. 2:5-7), so it is no surprise that Ezra also is repeatedly stated to be a priest (Ezra 7:1-5, 11f, 21; 10:10, 16; Neh. 8:2, 9; 12:26; 1 Esdras 8:1f, 8f, 19; 9:16, 39f, 42, 49). It was doubtless because of their expertise in the Law that priests and Levites were included among the judges in the nation's central appeal-court (Deut. 17:8-13; 2 Chron. 19:8-11), though it should be noted that lay judges also were included, and that the "elders" or "senior men" who judged lesser cases locally seem regularly to have been laymen (Deut. 19:12; 21:19f; 22:15-18; Josh. 20:4; Ruth 4:2, 4, 9, 11; 1 Kgs. 21:8, 11; 2 Kgs. 10:1, 5). Nor were elders totally excluded from *teaching* the Law. Along with the priests, in Deut. 31:9-13 they are entrusted with the Book of the Law and charged to read it to the people, and in 2 Chron. 17:7-9 Jehoshaphat is stated to have sent princes as well as Levites and priests to visit the cities of Judah, taking the Book of the Law with them and teaching. At the time of the return from the Exile, the elders and princes are still the lay leaders of the nation, with the tasks of ruling and judging (Ezra 5:5, 9; 6:7f, 14; 9:1f; 10:8, 14; Neh. 9:38; 12:31f; 1 Esdras 6:5, 8, 27; 7:8; 8:69; 9:4), but it is significant that Ezra is now explicitly empowered by the king to appoint as judges men who will judge "according to the wisdom of thy God which is in thy hand" (Ezra 7:25; cp. v 14; 1 Esdras 8:23).

This virtual identification of the Book of the Law with the Wisdom of God is something which reappears in later Wisdom literature (Sir. 24:23; Baruch 4:1; cp. also Sir. 19:20; 21:11; 34:8); but the linking of a scribe with wisdom is something found also in contemporary Wisdom literature. For the Aramaic fragments of the Words of Ahikar, a book of proverbs and parables discovered among the Elephantine papyri of the fifth century B.C., describe Ahikar as "a wise and learned scribe". There is no reason to think that Ahikar was a priest (according to Tobit 1:1-5, 21 he was of the tribe of Naphtali), and the wise men of the Wisdom literature are characteristically laymen. Solomon, the pre-eminently wise man of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and Wisdom (as well as of Kings and Chronicles), was of course a layman, and so was Daniel (Dan. 1:3), in whose book wisdom is such an important theme (Dan. 1:4, 17, 20; 2:12-14, 18, 20f, 23f, 27, 30, 48; 4:6, 18; 5:7f; 11:14f). Solomon and Daniel are not indeed called "scribes", like Ahikar, but, as with Ahikar (grand vizier to the king of Assyria), their sphere is the royal court, which was also the sphere of the pre-exilic scribe.[35] Up to the time of Ezra, the main teacher of the Law is still the priest, and it is natural that Ezra, the first of the new succession of scribes, should be a priest: nevertheless, the ground has now been prepared for laymen also to hold the office. The

[35] On the early connection between wise men and scribes, see, for example, Harry Ranston, *The Old Testament Wisdom Books and their Teaching* (London: Epworth Press, 1930), p. 13. Another example of the wise layman at the royal court is Zerubbabel in 1 Esdras 3.

layman, by studying the Book of the Law, can likewise become a wise man and a scribe.

But if "wise man" and "scribe" are on the way to becoming identical, so also are "scribe" and "elder". The one teaches the Law, the other judges according to it, but it is now clearly recognised that both need to study the Book of the Law for the purpose, and this has the effect of qualifying them for both tasks. In the Mishnah, and the rabbinical literature generally, the Pharisaic scholars are sometimes called חכמים "wise men, sages", sometimes ספרים "scribes", sometimes זקנים or שבים "elders, senior men", and they perform the tasks both of teachers and of judges. But this virtual interchangeability of language is already to be found in the Letter of Aristeas, where it is "elders" who are chosen to translate the Pentateuch into Greek, and especially in Ecclesiasticus, where Sir. 38:24-39:11 concerns wise "scribes", Sir. 6:34; 8:8f; 25:3-6 wise "elders", and Sir. 3:29; 18:27-29; 27:11f; 37:22-26 "wise men" as such, without any sharp distinction between them. Ben Sira already has his *beth midrash* in which to expound, like the later rabbi (Sir. 51:23); he lays the same emphasis as the later rabbi upon tradition (Sir. 8:8f); and the main difference that one notes is that his book is true Wisdom literature, as much interested in *proverbs* as in the exposition of the Law.[36] Altogether, his links are not only with later times but with earlier, for his identification of wise man, scribe and elder with each other, like his identification of the Book of the Law with the Wisdom of God (noted above), has its roots in the period of Ezra.

2. *The Era of Lay Revival: Proto-Pharisaism*

If one may assume, with the balance of recent opinion, that the biblical order for the coming of Ezra and Nehemiah is historically correct, Ezra coming first, but their ministry then overlapping, in the mid-fifth century B.C., it is easy to see how the presence of an energetic and like-minded governor such as Nehemiah must have facilitated Ezra's work.

However, just as there had been a period of decline in the half century between the death of the earlier governor Zerubbabel, who had pursued similar policies, and the coming of Ezra, so the death of Ezra and Nehemiah was evidently followed by a further period of decline. The next known governor after Nehemiah, Bagoas, seems from Josephus's account to have been a man of a very different character (*Antiquities* 11:7:1, or 11:297-301),

[36] Ben Sira was not the last of his line, for the chief recorded sayings of the succession of rabbis who link his period with that of Hillel and Shammai are their proverbs collected in Mishnah Aboth 1. With Hillel and Shammai, however, the balance swings over sharply to exposition of the Law. For a wide-ranging discussion of Ben Sira as a scribe, see Helge Stadelmann, *Ben Sira als Schriftgelehrter* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1980).

and under his rule the intrigues of the high-priestly family, though earlier checked by Ezra and Nehemiah, begin afresh.

Ezra, of course, had not been high priest, though he was a distant relative, being a descendant of Seraiah, one of the last high priests before the Exile (Ezra 7:1-5; 1 Esdras 8:1f); and his firm action against the mixed marriages of the high-priestly family, backed up by Nehemiah (Ezra 10:18f; Neh. 13:4-9, 28f; 1 Esdras 9:18-20), may well have been resented. As Finkelstein points out,[37] it was very natural for the high-priestly family to conform to the widespread custom of intermarriage between the aristocracy of one nation and another, and this explains their unions with the neighbouring aristocracy of Ammon and Samaria (Neh. 13:4-9, 28f), though leagues with the Ammonites were in fact forbidden (Deut. 23:3-6) and the Samaritans were at that period probably still syncretists.[38] After the death of Ezra and Nehemiah, such unions were in due course resumed, and it was one such in the latter part of the fourth century B.C., between the high priest's brother and a Samaritan princess, which seems to have led to the building of the Samaritan temple (see Josephus, *Antiquities* 11:7:2, or 11:302f; 11:8:2, or 11:306-09); while the Tobiads, the descendants of another such union in the mid-third century B.C., between the high priest's sister and an Ammonite prince, were to collaborate with the Hellenizing high priests of the following century in attempting to introduce into Jewry Hellenistic syncretism (*Antiquities* 12:4:2, or 12:160; 12:5:1, or 12:239f).

Examples set in such quarters cannot have failed to find imitators in the nation at large, and to have outraged the supporters of Ezra's policy of separation. His policy had been aimed mainly against syncretism, and that syncretistic worship did survive the Exile, or revive after it, not just in distant outposts like Elephantine but in Judaea, is evident from Zech. 10:2; 13:2f; so the danger was by no means a merely theoretical one. However, intermarriage was not the only offence which the chief priests committed. Malachi, a prophet probably contemporary with Ezra and Nehemiah, had charged the priests in general (not excluding, presumably, the chief priests) with negligence in their cultic duties (Mal. 1:6-14) and with failure to fulfil the priestly duty of teaching the Law (Mal. 2:1-9). The teaching of the Law was, of course, the other main item in Ezra's programme, and it may be significant that the Levites seem to have assisted him in it, but not the priests (Ezra 8:7; cp. 9:4; 1 Esdras 9:48f). If so, after Ezra's death the priests probably relapsed into their former negligence, and the teaching of the Law

[37] *The Pharisees*, pp. 556f, 561f.

[38] One may infer this from Nehemiah's unhesitating continuance of Zerubbabel's policy towards the Samaritans. The pure Yahwism of the later Samaritans may have been a reaction to a Hellenizing crisis that they had in the first half of the second century B.C., at the same time as the Jews (see Josephus, *Antiquities* 12:5:5, or 12:257-264).

must then have been carried on by the Levites almost unaided. As compared with the priests, however, the Levites were very few in number (Ezra 2:40-42; Neh. 7:43-45; 1 Esdras 5:26-28). Moreover, the Levites were dependent for their maintenance on tithe (Num. 18:21-32), and both Malachi and Nehemiah had been troubled to find them not receiving it—a situation which Nehemiah had temporarily rectified (Mal. 3:7-12; Neh. 13:10-14). Nevertheless, the Levites lost it again later, and it went instead to the priests—a state of affairs reflected not only in the rabbinical literature but also in Jubilees 13:25f; 32:2-15; even the Essenes do not attempt to reform this old abuse until Temple Scroll 60, which seems to have been written about the same time when John Hyrcanus was abolishing the declaration that one had given one's tithe to the Levite, because it was no longer true (Mishnah Maaser Sheni 5:15, Sotah 9:10; cp. Deut. 26:12, 13). If, then, after Nehemiah's death there was a return to the former negligence, with the Levites unable to supply the deficiencies of the priests, this must have thrown into jeopardy the whole work of teaching the Law; and, since the policy of separation was also threatened, all that Ezra had achieved must have looked like coming to an end.

How long this crisis took to develop we cannot be absolutely certain, but that it did develop will soon become clear enough, and it probably took less than a century to do so: from about 430 B.C., when we last hear of Nehemiah (Ezra having left the stage somewhat sooner), till about 340 B.C., are the outside limits of the period in which it must have occurred. Some time in the 330s, we read of Manasses the brother of the high priest Jaddua marrying a Samaritan princess. This in itself can have been nothing extraordinary, but what is extraordinary is that the lay "elders" of Jerusalem were able to oppose his action with such vigour that he was forced to go into exile, and that his brother, the high priest, took their side. What happened was that he left for his bride's country, accompanied by many other priests and Israelites who had contracted similar marriages (and who thereby had doubtless incurred similar displeasure from the elders), and that his father-in-law Sanballat obtained the permission of Alexander the Great to build for him the Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim (see Josephus, *Antiquities* 11:7:2, or 11:302f; 11:8:2, or 11:306-09). That Samaritan tradition should contain no record of these events (which do the Samaritans no great credit) is not surprising, especially as Samaritan tradition comes to us only through much later writings than the histories of Josephus; and the suspicion which was formerly cast on Josephus's datings, because a Sanballat was also a Samaritan adversary of Nehemiah, is now seen to be gratuitous, with the

discovery of other evidence that several rulers of Samaria bore this name.[39] If, however, Josephus's account is accepted, it means that, at a date before the 330s, something had happened to cause the lay elders to supplant both priests and Levites as the great upholders of the Law and of separation, and to make them the most influential religious force in the nation.

We saw on pp. 189-190 that the possibility of this happening first arose in the time of Ezra, through the convergence of the roles of wise man, scribe and elder, in their common devotion to, and reliance upon, the Book of the Law. In Ezra's lifetime the possibility had not become a reality, because he himself was a priest, and the Levites actively supported him. If, however, after his death the priests who remained were largely negligent, and the few Levites were in a position of vulnerable weakness, because of their dependence on tithe, someone else had to take the lead in teaching the Law. The elder, because of his important position in society as a judge, was in the best position to do so. The wise man and scribe of the Jewish royal court belonged to the past, but the wise man or scribe of the Jewish law-courts was well placed to succeed them.

It is to this period that rabbinical tradition assigns the "Great Synagogue", or great assembly (כנסת הגדולה), which, in the succession of those who have transmitted the (oral) Law through history in Mishnah Aboth 1, stands between the period of the Prophets and that of the named Pharisaic teachers of the last two centuries B.C., and spans about 250 years. Whether the Great Synagogue was a single assembly or a succession of assemblies has been much discussed, though the length of time involved definitely suggests the latter.[40] Even so, the first of its meetings must have been the most significant, because the Great Synagogue seems to have been a gathering of lay elders, all concerned for the teaching of the Law, and nothing of the kind had ever been seen before.

That this was the character of the body appears from its three great utterances:

> Be deliberate in judgment, raise up many disciples, and make a fence around the Law (M. Aboth 1:1).

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[39] See especially J. D. Purvis, *The Samaritan Pentateuch and the Origin of the Samaritan Sect* (Cambridge Mass: Harvard University Press, 1968), pp. 10-12, 99-105.

[40] In answer to this, it is pointed out that rabbinical tradition regularly confuses the high priest Simon the Just, the last of the members of the Great Synagogue according to Mishnah Aboth 1:2, with his namesake Simon I, a near-contemporary of Alexander the Great, and that the Pharisaic chronology of Seder Olam Rabbah reduces the period of Persian rule so much that the last of the Prophets are also near-contemporaries of Alexander. However, the tradition about the Great Synagogue, if it is worth anything, must be much older than the Pharisaic chronology, which probably dates only from the late 1st century B.C. (see p. 256, pp. 265-267).

The first utterance shows that its members were elders, having the responsibilities of judges; the second utterance shows that they were determined to be teachers; and the third utterance shows (among other things) that their concern was for the Law. This was precisely what the situation demanded. With the priests unwilling, and the Levites unable, to carry on Ezra's work, a great assembly of lay elders came together and resolved to step into the breach. The basic tradition about the Great Synagogue (sometimes reckoned a mere fable) is therefore entirely credible, and though many legends afterwards gathered about it, its real existence is something which the Jews could never forget.

The fact that the Great Synagogue was the fruit of a lay revival not only tells us what the state of the contemporary priesthood was but also who the heirs of the Great Synagogue were. The Pharisees certainly regarded themselves as its heirs, and their right to do so is proved by the fact that the Pharisaic movement was a movement led by laymen, whereas the Sadducean and Essene movements were led by priests. The leaders of the Pharisees were always lay elders, like the men of the Great Synagogue; the Pharisaic elders regularly gathered pupils, again like the men of the Great Synagogue; and, as to the third of the Great Synagogue's maxims, we have already seen, on p. 183, how characteristic it was of Pharisaism to make a fence around the Law. The Sadducean and Essene teachers also gathered pupils; and the Essenes also used certain preventative measures to fence the Law—eating even their common meals in ceremonial cleanness (cp. Josephus, *War* 2:8:5, or 2:129-131) and taking the precaution of starting the Sabbath rest a little early (Damascus Document, CD, 10:14-17); but, though it was natural that these reformers of Pharisaism should retain some of its features, lay leadership was something which they did not retain, and which only the Pharisees continued to practise.

The fencing of the Law by the men of the Great Synagogue was an excess of zeal on their part very natural in those reacting against indifference to the Law in high places. Indeed, they were reacting against indifference to the Law in all sectors of society. The lay elders, qualified to be chosen as judges, were an educated and respected class, quite distinct from the ordinary manual worker, and even from the farmer and craftsman, as Ben Sira was later to point out in a vivid passage (Sir. 38:24-39:11); they were men of substance, with "opportunity for leisure", and they would not have hesitated to condemn negligence in the keeping of the Law among agriculturalists, for example in neglecting to pay tithes, any more than among members of the family of the high priests, for example in contracting forbidden marriages. Hillel was afterwards to endorse Ben Sira's words (Mishnah Aboth 2:6).

It is probable, therefore, that the undying polemic of the Pharisees against the negligent, those whom they called "the people(s) of the land" (עמי הארץ,עם הארץ), goes back to the origins of the movement in this early period. It was perfectly possible, in Pharisaic terminology, for the high priest to be *am ha-aretz* no less than a peasant (M. Horayoth 3:8), for the expression merely refers to negligence about keeping the Law. Originally the expression had had no pejorative sense, simply referring to the inhabitants of Palestine, whether the Israelites or their predecessors, and it had continued to be used in this way by exilic and post-exilic writers (Ezek. 7:27; 12:19; 22:29 etc; Dan. 9:6; Hag. 2:4; Zech. 7:5). In Ezra and Nehemiah, however, it is confined to the syncretistic and heathen peoples of Palestine, such as the Samaritans, Ammonites and Philistines, against whom the policy of separation was directed, and has very negative overtones (Ezra 4:4; 10:2, 11; Neh. 10:30f). It becomes almost interchangeable, though not quite, with "the peoples of the lands", i e the heathen abroad (Ezra 9:1f, 11; Neh. 9:30; 10:28). The Pharisees, however, by a highly significant further development, extended and ultimately transferred the expression to negligent Jews. Over against these, they formed societies of Jews pledged to observe the Law, and to observe in addition those preventative measures with which the men of the Great Synagogue, in their zeal, had fenced the Law about.

The members of the Pharisaic societies were called "associates" (חברים), and they pledged themselves to do two things in particular—to respect the law of tithing, by buying and eating only tithed food, and to eat even their common food in ceremonial cleanness. The first of these was a simple matter of obedience to the Law; to do otherwise would be a profana-tion of what was sacred, and would, in addition, penalize the teaching Levites. The second was a preventative measure, which extended the prohibition against eating unclean animals in Lev. 11 and Deut. 14:3-21, and the prohibition against eating sacred foods when unclean in Lev. 7:19-21, to cover all aspects of common meals as well as sacred. This was the basis of the Pharisaic practice of hand-washing before meals, which afterwards brought them into controversy with Jesus (Mark 7:1-23). As Finkelstein lucidly explains, in a chapter on "The Origin of the Pharisees", such regulations restricted whom one ate with and whom one traded with, and sharply separated the "associates" from the "people of the land".[41] The restrictive

[41] *The Pharisees*, ch. 5. For a fuller account of the societies formed by the "associates", see Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus*, ch. 11. It is sometimes denied that the "associates" and the Pharisees are the same people, and it is true that the Essenes inherited some of the features of their societies, but otherwise the grounds for making a distinction are weak, and everyone admits that there is a large measure of overlap. Religious groups often refer to themselves by names not used of them by others; and the strong tone of approval in which the rabbinical literature always speaks of the associates makes it unlikely that they included members of rival parties. When the Pharisees in the Gospels boast of their scrupulousness in

requirements for becoming an "associate", and the undertakings accordingly made at admission, are set out in Mishnah Demai 2 and Tosephta Demai 2-3.

The antiquity of the societies of "associates", and of the rules governing them, is shown by a dispute between the schools of Hillel and Shammai about the application of the latter in a particular case (M. Demai 6:6); by the fact that one of them—the eating of even common food in ceremonial cleanness—was observed also by the Essenes (see p. 194), and presumably goes back to the time before the two parties openly separated in the mid-second century B.C.; but especially by the fact that the "associates" and the Pharisees seem to have been the same people, and that basic rules defining what a Pharisee or associate was could hardly be changed—certainly not without provoking internecine controversies and divisions on the matter, of which there is no trace. Their better known name of "Pharisees" (פרושים) is first found in the high priesthood of Jonathan Maccabacus, 152-142 B.C. (cp. Josephus, *Antiquities* 13:5:9, or 13:171-73), when the open rift with the Sadducees and Essenes had made distinguishing names necessary. However, no name could have been more appropriate, since it means "the separated ones". This is the natural complement of the name "associates": they were closely "associated" with each other, and sharply "separated" from the "people of the land".

The original members of the societies, to judge from the second maxim of the men of the Great Synagogue "Raise up many disciples", were the elders and their pupils, training to be elders themselves. However, to raise up further scribes or elders was only a part of Ezra's teaching-programme, and as this was the age of the development of the synagogue, the elders doubtless took advantage of the institution to teach the people at large. The great multiplication of synagogues during the remaining centuries B.C. bears witness to the enormous influence that their teaching had. The synagogue, quite naturally, became also their law-court, in place of the earlier open-air law-court in the "gate" of the city, and this is why we read in the New Testament of punishments inflicted in the synagogue (Matt. 23:34; Mark 13:9; Acts 22:19; 26:11; cp. Susanna 6, 28 LXX) and of excommunication from the synagogue (John 9:22; 12:42; 16:2).

Two ominous effects of the rules of the societies must be noted. First, they concentrated men's minds on externals, in a way which was to lead to one of Jesus's chief complaints against the Pharisees (Matt. 23:23-28). Secondly, they resulted in two levels of religious observance among pious Jews. The Mishnah and Tosephta, in dealing with these rules, distinguish

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tithing, refuse to eat with tax-gatherers and sinners, and insist on the washing of hands before eating (Mark 2:16; 7:3; Luke 18:12), they are expressing the principles of the associates, and Jesus himself refers to the preoccupation of the Pharisees with the associates' two great concerns of tithing and ceremonial cleanness (Luke 11:39-42).

those who undertake to be "trustworthy" (נאמנים) and those who undertake to be "associates" (חברים): M. Demai 2:2f; Tos. Demai 2:2. The former are those who undertake to pay tithes scrupulously (in accordance with the Pharisaic interpretation of the tithing laws). The latter are those who, in addition, undertake to eat all their meals in ceremonial cleanness. The former were only undertaking observance of the Mosaic Law, whereas the latter were undertaking the observance of a preventative measure also. It was the latter requirement, and all that it implied, which kept the number of the Pharisees (or associates) small, whereas the former requirement made an appeal to the consciences of all godly men. The Maccabees, who, as we shall see, were not themselves among the Hasidim, or "pious", may very well have been among the "trustworthy". So may those observant Jews of the time of the birth of Jesus, Zacharias and Elizabeth, Simeon and Anna (Luke 1:5ff; 2:25-38). But the further requirement for becoming an "associate" had a sectarian tendency, and contained within it the seeds of the later sectarian conflicts with the Sadducees (who wanted no non-biblical regulations) and with the Essenes (who wanted additional ones).

A word more must be said about those to whom these early Pharisees, and Ezra himself, were opposed. Some writers have regarded them as men of liberal minds and lofty ideals, exempt from narrow nationalism, and responsible for some of the chief treasures of ancient Jewish literature. The tendency of all we have been saying has been to reject this view as absurd. The most extreme expression of it is found in Morton Smith's *Palestinian Parties and Politics that Shaped the Old Testament,*[42] which treats the Old Testament evidence with considerable freedom, and tries to explain the whole of Jewish history from the Return almost to the beginning of the Christian era as a struggle between two great parties, the separatists and the "assimilationists"; but a more moderate expression of the same view is contained, for example, in N. H. Snaith's *The Jews from Cyrus to Herod.*[43] Much of Smith's evidence is spurious: he argues for the prevalence of assimilationism from Jewish intermarriage with aliens (which was bound to occur under foreign rule, but did not necessarily imply religious approval), from the existence of shrines at Tabor, Carmel, Hermon, Hebron and Mamre (all of which were outside post-exilic Jewish territory until a late period) and from the fact that the Samaritans often described themselves as Jews (which does not mean that the Jews regarded them as such).[44] However, it is on the

[42] Lectures on the History of Religions, N.S. 9 (New York: Columbia University Press), 1971.

[43] Wallington: Religious Education Press, 1963, pp. 74-78.

[44] *op. cit.*, pp. 86f., 92, 189f.

supposed literary remains of the assimilationists that the case breaks down most completely.[45]

Snaith appeals to "Third Isaiah" (Isaiah 56-66), which may well be too early for his purpose, and which he has to admit contains strongly separatist passages. Both writers appeal to Ruth and Jonah, the first of which may again be too early, and only describes intermarriage with Moabites under conditions of isolation from other Israelites, which made it inevitable (similar to the conditions under which, in the Pentateuch, Joseph had married an Egyptian and Moses a Midianite). Jonah is a more plausible instance, but the common idea that the book is criticising the prophet for being a narrow nationalist is not entirely credible in view of Jon. 1:11f, and the interpretation of D. E. Hart-Davies[46] has much to be said for it. Smith appeals to Proverbs, Job, Ecclesiastes and Song of Songs, though only for trivial reasons, and problems of dating are in some cases involved. He also appeals to Esther, the Pentateuch, Judith and Tobit. Esther is regarded by Snaith, on the contrary, as a narrowly nationalistic book, but is presumably invoked by Smith because of Esther's marriage, in exile, to a heathen king. However, it must be noted that Esther has no choice whether or not she join the *royal harem* (Esth. 2:2f, 8), though, having been taken into it, she naturally aspires to be *queen*. The final editors of the Pentateuch Smith holds to be assimilationists from as late as the fourth century B.C., who make the concession of requiring Gentiles to become proselytes by circumcision (cp. Gen. 34:13-24; Exod. 12:43-49 etc.); his approach to Judith is similar. Snaith, on the other hand, holds the final editors of the Pentateuch to be separatists, and certainly the "concession" of requiring circumcision was no small one, for the requirement formed a middle wall of partition in the ancient world. The anomaly that Judith allows an Ammonite to become a proselyte (Judith 14:10; contrast Deut. 23:3-6) is better regarded as a concession by separatists than by assimilationists, for a similar concession is once found in the Mishnah (Yadaim 4:4; contrast Yebamoth 8:3). As for Tobit, this also recognizes the need for Gentiles to become "proselytes" (Tob. 1:8); the name Tobiah, which it uses, was Jewish as well as Ammonite (2 Chron. 17:8; Ezra 2:60; Zech. 6:10-14); and the northern setting of both books, which Smith emphasises, only serves their authors as an occasion to assert, with the Chronicler, that pious people even from the north show allegiance to Jerusalem, and travel to Jerusalem for worship, not to any northern shrine (Judith 4:1-15; 5:19; 9:13; 16:18-20; Tob. 1:4-8; 13:7-18; 14:4-7).

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[45] See Snaith, *loc. cit.*, and Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-163, 173ff. for these appeals to literature.

[46] *Jonah: Prophet and Patriot* (London: Thynne & Jarvis, 1925). He argues that the prophet sees Assyria not just as a foreign nation but as a terrible threat to his own people.

Among these various works, it is particularly inept to describe Tobit and Judith as assimilationist, since they seem to have been written in deliberate opposition to assimilationism, or at least in sharp reaction against it. Not only do they insist that worship be offered at Jerusalem, but they are strongly opposed to intermarriage, holding that marriage should be within one's own nation and even within one's own tribe and kindred (Tob. 4:12f; cp. 1:9; Judith 8:2), thus extending the particular rules of Numbers 36 about the marriage of female heirs to marriages in general. Such stringency is probably a direct reaction against the laxity of assimilationists. Tobit and Judith are books of Pharisaic outlook,[47] even giving explicit expression to the two formal undertakings of the "associates", to be scrupulous about tithing (Tob. 1:6-8; Judith 11:13) and to eat their common food in ceremonial purity (Tob. 2:5; Judith 12:5-9);[48] and, since the Pharisaism reflected is of a primitive character, it would probably be right to regard the two works as being (along with the Septuagint Pentateuch and Ecclesiasticus) the earliest Pharisaic writings that we possess, giving us a unique insight into this zealous, anti-assimilationist movement at an early stage—in the case of Tobit, possibly as early as the Persian period.[49]

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[47] Thus, Tobit supports the existence of angels (Tob. 5:4, 16, 21, etc.) and Judith teaches the reality of future judgement (Judith 16:17), in harmony with Pharisaic beliefs and at variance with Sadducean (cp. Acts 23:8; Josephus, *War*, 2:8:14, or 2:163-65; *Antiquities* 18:1:3, or 18:14). Neither book can be Essene, since they both show a lack of concern for exact history and chronology very uncharacteristic of the Essenes. Moreover, the Book of Tobit follows a lunar calendar like that of the Pharisees, making Dystrus (Adar) 7 a working day (Tob. 2:12), whereas in the Essene solar calendar it was a Sabbath. As for Judith, it treats Fridays as feasts (Judith 8:6; cp. Mishnah Taanith 4:2, Hagigah 3:7) and allows an Ammonite to become a proselyte (see above), whereas the Essenes had their great fast of the Day of Atonement on a Friday, and adhered to the rule excluding Ammonites from the congregation (4QMMT; Florilegium 4Q 174).

[48] Tobit cannot in fact eat in ceremonial purity on this occasion, but "with mourning", for he has just touched a corpse, and uncleanness from the dead, in accordance with Numbers 19, lasts seven days. However, his intentions are shown by the fact that he performs ablutions before his meal none the less, and ignores the fact that he will have to touch the corpse again directly afterwards (Tob. 2:7-9).

[49] Thus, the concept of the future life in Tobit is undeveloped (Tob. 3:6, 10-13; 13:2), by contrast with the Pharisees' later stress on resurrection (Acts 23:6-9, etc.); while in Judith the washing of hands before praying or eating has not yet been substituted for immersion, as had already happened by the time of the Letter of Aristeas, circa 145-125 B.C. (Judith 12: 5-9; Ep. Ar. 305). Tobit is probably earlier than Judith, since Judith has a more developed concept of the life to come (Judith 16:17); and the exceptional antiquity of Tobit is confirmed by the fact that it is one of only three deutero-canonical books found at Qumran (the other two being the Epistle of Jeremy and Ecclesiasticus); that it makes direct reference to the ancient Words of Ahikar; that its affinities are Persian rather than Greek; and that it contains, along with its Pharisaic features, one or two Essene traits, suggesting that it dates from before the beginning of the open rivalry between the two parties in the mid-second century B.C., and probably from before the distinct emergence of the proto-Essene movement and its literature a hundred years earlier. See the article "The Earliest Enoch Literature and its Calendar" (*ut supra*), p. 389. Incidentally, the Aramaic and Hebrew fragments of Tobit from Qumran confirm the superiority

Thus, the supposed literary achievements of the assimilationists, when examined, crumble to dust, and the possibility has to be faced that, at least in the early period, the assimilationists were as bankrupt intellectually as they seem to have been spiritually.

3. *The Era of Priestly Reform: Proto-Essenism and Proto-Sadduceeism*

If the Pharisaic movement arose not later than 340 B.C., as we have argued, it arose in the Persian period, and though it was afterwards to be influenced by Hellenism in various ways, the date of its origin, and its conservative character—as a revival rather than a reform—meant that Hellenistic influence would be superficial rather than fundamental. The Book of Tobit, which we have just been discussing, and which has good claim to be regarded as the oldest piece of uncanonical Jewish literature apart from the Words of Ahikar, shows Pharisaism as a religion emphasising the Mosaic Law (Tob. 1:8; 3:4f; 4:5; 6:13; 7:12f) and separation from foreigners in matters of worship, food and marriage (Tob. 1:4-8, 10-13; 4:12f), much in the manner of Ezra; insisting not only on ceremonial duties but on moral, especially kindness to the poor and the neglected dead (Tob. 1:3, 16-19; 2:3-8; 4:3-19, etc); and setting its hope upon the future intervention of God (Tob. 13:1-14:7, etc.). These concerns are all of native growth, and do not call for any explanation from non-Jewish influence. Only the developed angelelogy and demonology of the book, especially the demon Asmodeus (from the Persian *Aeshma daeva*) and the magic used against him, show outside influence, though the influence here is Persian, not Greek.[50] The chief new developments that one finds in Judith are a greater asceticism (Judith 8:4-6; 10:3; 16:22) and a reliance on God to intervene not just in the future but in present calamities (Judith 8:11ff), perhaps prompted by the Antiochene persecution; together with the concept of retribution in the life to come (Judith 16:17). The last of these features could owe something to Hellenism, but the rest are entirely native products. A little earlier than Judith, perhaps, comes Ecclesiasticus. This too shows a developing conception of the future life, especially in the Greek translation[51] (though the earlier agnosticism still recurs in Sir. 17:27f; 41:3f), but on the whole, as we saw on pp. 189-190, the author stands firmly in the footsteps of Ezra, and his attitude to Greek wisdom, in so far as he reflects it, is to maintain that the old is better.

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of the recension of the book represented by Codex Sinaiticus and the Old Latin (to which all references here are made). See J. T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery*, p. 31f.

[50] See D. C. Simpson in R. H. Charles, ed., *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (*ut supra*), vol. I, p. 193, and J. H. Moulton there cited.

[51] For references, see note 19.

However, though the conservative Pharisees had little interest in Greek wisdom, it need not be assumed that all Jews before the Hellenizing crisis of 175-152 B.C. were of this outlook, or that to take an interest in it was previously anything very controversial. Martin Hengel shows that, from the middle of the third century B.C., Hellenstic influence is to be found even in Judaea, but that the first sign of a reaction against it is in Ecclesiasticus, about seventy years later.[52] In the mid-third century B.C., the conquest of the country by Alexander the Great was already about eighty years past, and it was currently under the rule of the Hellenistic Ptolemies of Egypt; so Hellenism had had time to make itself felt. Interestingly, we know of two other developments in the mid-third century B.C. One was the marriage of the sister of the high priest Onias II to Tobias, an Ammonite prince (cp. Josephus, *Antiquities*, 12:4:2, or 12:160) and the other was the rise of the proto-Essene movement which, as we saw on pp. 176-177, is dated by the Book of Dreams in 1 Enoch at about 251 B.C. The marriage cannot be dated so precisely, but Tcherikover has shown that Onias II probably began his long pontificate as early as the mid-third century B.C.,[53] and since the age of marriage for women was young, and the lady may have been married in her uncle Manasses's pontificate and not in her brother's, a date around or slightly before the middle of the third century B.C. is most probable.

The attitude of the priesthood, and especially of the high-priestly family, to the proto-Pharisaic lay revival is only scantily documented, but the fact that they were condemned as *am ha-aretz* for their mixed marriages and neglect of teaching must have caused widespread resentment. Individual high priests of devout disposition no doubt sympathised with the revival—we have seen that the high priest Jaddua sided with the protesting elders against his own brother, and all that Josephus tells us about Jaddua is to his credit; added to which, he was afterwards, it seems, respected by the Essenes, no doubt because of his stand against mixed marriages, of which they were such ardent opponents.[54] Moreover, the high priest Simon II (c.

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[52] *Judaism and Hellenism*, vol. 1, pp. 59ff., 248f.

[53] *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews*, pp. 126-130. Tcherikover in fact dates the marriage rather unnecessarily early, placing the birth of Joseph, the son of the marriage, between 270 and 260 B.C. Though Joseph "was kept by his age from going" to Egypt at the birth of Ptolemy V's son in 187-186 B.C. (Josephus, *Antiquities* 12:4:7, or 12:196), this need not mean that he was born before 250 B.C. He would then have gone on his youthful embassy to Egypt not much before 230 B.C. (which would mean that Onias's payment of tribute to Egypt had been *erratic* since 242 B.C., not that it then ceased completely, as Tcherikover supposes—otherwise the crisis in relations would indeed have arisen sooner); and he would have farmed the taxes of Palestine for the Ptolemies between 230 B.C. and the conquest of Palestine by the Seleucids of Syria in 198 B.C. Josephus says that he farmed the taxes for 22 years (*Antiquities* 12:4:10, or 12:224), though he does not say whether this was an unbroken period.

[54] For the Essene attitude to mixed marriages, see especially Jubilees 30:7-17. Their attitude to Jaddua is probably shown by the title of the Book of Jaddua, found with other

200 B.C.), to whom the Pharisees afterwards looked back as the last of the men of the Great Synagogue and a predecessor of theirs (M. Aboth 1:2), and whom Ben Sira admired so greatly (Sir. 50:1-21), must have been a Pharisaic sympathiser. On the whole, however, the high-priestly family of the period probably conformed to Pharisaic views because these were the traditional views, because they were maintained by the men learned in the Law (the elder-scribes), and because the elder-scribes were a very influential element in society, rather than out of strong personal conviction. It seems unlikely that the chief priests, generally speaking, observed many of the preventative measures of the Pharisees, or were actual "associates" in the lay-led Pharisaic societies: this was probably unusual, though it may have been somewhat more common among the ordinary priests.

The marriage of the high priest's sister to an Ammonite prince in the mid third-century B.C. is a noteworthy fact from various points of view. For one thing, it did not apparently cause the public outcry caused by the marriage of the high priest's brother to a Samaritan princess about 85 years previously. It is true that there were more restrictions on the marriages of priests than on the marriages of priests' daughters, but when the bride was a member of the high-priestly family (especially as that family had such a record), one would expect there to have been great indignation from the scribes. What is equally surprising is that the descendants of this marriage, the Tobiads, were permitted to live undisturbed in Jerusalem, and to exercise considerable public influence, down to the time of the Hellenizing crisis (cp. 2 Macc. 3:10-12; Josephus, *War* 1:1:1, or 1:31; *Antiquities* 12:4:2-11, or 12:160-229; 12:5:1, or 12:239-241). No less surprisingly, one finds the pious high priest Simon II (a Pharisaic sympathiser) on friendly terms with them, and actively participating in the strife between the grandsons of the marriage (cp. *Ant.* 12:4:11, or 12:229), and his equally pious successor Onias III (an Essene sympathiser) at least allowing one of them to keep money in the Temple treasury (2 Macc. 3:10-12), though perhaps by sufferance, because he was "a man in very high place", rather than gladly. Even if one allows for the fact that the Tobiad family were usually in a strong political position because of support from the Ptolemies, the Hellenistic rulers of Egypt, or the Seleucids, the Hellenistic rulers of Syria (as the case might be), the absence of influential religious opposition to the marriage or its descendants remains striking.

Essene writings in a cave near Jericho about A.D. 800, and known to the Karaite writer Kirkisani. J. M. Baumgarten notes that, when Jubilees 30:10 compares giving one's daughter to a Gentile to giving one's seed to Moloch, it may be alluding to the fact that Moloch was the abomination of the Ammonites ("Halakhic Polemics in New Fragments from Qumran Cave 4", in *Biblical Archaeology Today*, Jerusalem, 1985, p. 395).

The only plausible explanation would seem to be that, when the marriage was in contemplation, the scribes insisted that the Ammonite prince should become a proselyte and be circumcised. However nominal his conversion, he and his descendants would thereafter have technically been Jews, as indeed Josephus represents them as being (note especially *Antiquities* 12:4:2, or 12:161-65; 12:4:6, or 12:187-89; 12:4:10, or 12:224). We have seen that the early Pharisaic work Judith speaks of an Ammonite becoming a proselyte, which shows that this is perfectly credible:

> And when Achior (the leader of all the children of Ammon) saw all the things that the God of Israel had done, he believed in God exceedingly, and circumcised the flesh of his foreskin, and was joined unto the house of Israel, unto this day (Judith 14:10; cp. 5:5).

But to admit such a convert was, of course, contrary to the Mosaic Law (Deut. 23:3-6). The argument by which the scribes justified this can only be guessed at, but, if one may judge from the argument successfully used by Rabbi Joshua against Rabban Gamaliel II in the Mishnah in support of admitting such a convert on a much later occasion, it was

> Are the Ammonites and the Moabites still where they were? Long ago Sennacherib, king of Assyria, came up and put all the nations in confusion... And they permitted him (Judah the Ammonite) to come into the congregation (Yadaim 4:4; cp. also Tosephta Yadaim 2:17f).

Now, it cannot be supposed that any scribes of the mid-third century B.C. who were disposed to be critical of the leaders of their class would have readily accepted such an open departure from the plain meaning of Scripture, supported by such a hypothetical argument. Gamaliel still found it difficult to do so centuries later. Consequently, it may be

(a) this marriage that precipitated the emergence of the proto-Essene movement about 251 B.C. We know from the Qumran Florilegium 4Q 174 that the Essenes were opposed to the admission of Ammonites as proselytes:

> Thy sanctuary, O Lord, which thy hands have established ... That is the house where there shall never more enter ... the Ammonite and the Moabite and bastard and alien and sojourner for ever, for my holy ones are there.[55]

The same regulation, significantly, occurs in the important halakic letter 4QMMT, lines 39-46. The Essenes therefore viewed the Ammonites as Gentiles who could never become anything but Gentiles, and their attitude to intermarriage with Gentiles was extremely severe. Even a lay-woman who marries a Gentile is to be burned (like the priest's daughter who plays the

[55] The translation is that of J M. Allegro and A. A. Anderson in *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan V* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), which they edited.

harlot in Lev. 21:9), according to Jubilees 30:7: how much more the sister of the high priest!

(b) Though it may have been this marriage which precipitated the emergence of the proto-Essene movement, there are sure to have been other pre-disposing causes. One of them, no doubt, was the fact that for ninety or more years the effective religious leaders of the nation had been laymen. It must have been difficult for priests to feel that this was appropriate, and those priests who were "associates" in the Pharisaic societies (as the Essenes show signs of having been, since they maintained the associates' practice of eating their ordinary food in ceremonial purity)[56] must often have wished that they could take the leadership in those societies. This is what the "sons of Zadok" were able to do when they started forming their own societies after 251 B.C.

(c) Another pre-disposing cause must have been the influence of Hellenism. We saw on p. 201 that by the mid-third century B.C. Hellenistic influence had penetrated into Judaea, but had not yet aroused serious controversy. The main intellectual effect of Hellenism would be to encourage an enquiring and critical attitude of mind, calculated to result in a scrutiny and reform of the *status quo.* Since Pharisaism had by this time not only added various preventative measures to the Mosaic Law, but had started suspending laws (for example, by admitting Ammonites as proselytes), it had begun to invite a reform on biblical principles. The proto-Essene movement doubtless saw itself as the agent of this reform; though in the event it carried reform through somewhat unevenly, not rejecting the principle of preventative measures, and sometimes reinterpreting laws in a manner less convincing than the Pharisaic, but at least restoring laws which had fallen out of use (like the jubilee-year) or been deliberately suspended (like the one above).

Hellenism seems to have affected the proto-Essene movement in other ways as well. The early Essene reform of the calendar shows some tokens of the influence of Greek science and mathematics (see pp. 105-107), Essene eschatological speculations have perhaps drawn a few hints from Greek mythology,[57] and, as was noted on p. 179, the Essene insistence on the existence of spirits, on the future life and on divine predestination suggests that it may have been affected by Stoic philosophy.

So, although Essenism (if not also Sadduceeism) probably began as a protest against a bold departure from the Pentateuchal Law, which was the pious Jew's primary concern, its critique of conventional religion could not stop there. A critical mentality was bound to question many other legal

[56] See p. 194 above.

[57] On these two matters, see the article *"The Earliest Enoch Literature and its Calendar"* (*ut supra*), pp. 371, 384. See also note 17 on p. 107.

points, on which the text of the Pentateuch was obscure or even apparently contradictory, and on which a novel interpretation might seem more probable than the traditional one. Moving on from the Law to the Prophets, there was plenty of room for differences of opinion over eschatology (the coming of the Messiah or the resurrection of the body); and, moving on from the Prophets to speculative questions, one could easily differ on the survival of the human spirit after death, a future personal judgment, and the significance of predestination or freewill; one could even differ, if one wanted to be contentious, about the existence of angels. Faced with such novel proposals, the Pharisees were almost bound to assert, as they did, the antiquity of their oral tradition, and the reforming schools were equally bound to deny it. The Pharisees even claimed that their tradition went back to biblical times, in response to which the Essenes produced a rival authority, in the shape of pseudonymous writings, ostensibly of extreme antiquity, which favoured their own opinions.[58]

The beginnings of Sadduceeism, since the movement has left no literary remains,[59] are much more difficult to date with any certainty. Their claim to follow Scripture alone (see p. 174) may, indeed, have made the Sadducees cautious about writing anything else. Solomon Zeitlin, very arbitrarily, makes the high priest Jeshua the son of Jozadak the first Sadducee (and his lay colleague Zerubbabel the first Pharisee).[60] At the opposite extreme, Abigador Tcherikover makes the high priest John Hyrcanus the first Sadducee, when he broke with the Pharisees towards the end of his pontificate, about 110 B.C. (428 years later)![61] This very late date is excluded if we believe Josephus, who first mentions the Pharisees, Sadducees and Essenes as three distinct parties in the pontificate of Jonathan Maccabacus, from 152 to 142 B.C. (*Antiquities* 13:5:9, or 13:171-73); and Josephus is supported, at any rate as regards the Essenes and Pharisees, by the archaeological evidence that the settlement of Qumran began about 140-130 B.C.,[62] by the evidence of the Book of Dreams (see pp. 176-177) and by

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[58] For a discussion of the reasons for the Essene use of pseudonymity, see the same article, pp. 398-402.

[59] Ecclesiastes, Ecclesiasticus and 1 Maccabees have been supposed by some to be of Sadducean authorship (so Kaufmann Kohler in his article "Sadducees" in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*). But the first is too early, and they all conflict with Sadducean views. Ecclesiastes affirms future personal judgement (Eccl. 11:9; 12:14), which the Sadducees denied. 1 Maccabees supports the existence of angels (1 Macc. 7:41), which the Sadducees denied, and ends its narrative, no doubt significantly, at the beginning of the pontificate of John Hyrcanus, before his breach with the Pharisees. On Ecclesiasticus, see note 19. For the view of the Sadducees on future judgement and on angels, see p. 173.

[60] *The Rise and Fall of the Judaean State* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1962-67), vol. 1, p. 176f.

[61] *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews* (*ut supra*), p. 263f.

[62] See the new Schürer,as cited in note 6, vol. 2, p. 586f., or, for a slightly earlier dating, J. T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery*, pp. 49-51, 144.

the succession of named Pharisaic teachers, beginning in the first half of the second century B.C.[63] As regards the Sadducees themselves, Josephus is supported by the rabbinical tradition that the Sadducees and Boethusians arose as a result of the defection of two pupils of the proto-Pharisee Antigonus of Soko, i.e. in the first half of the second century B.C. (Aboth of Rabbi Nathan 5:2). However, by the same token the very early date is excluded as well. The names of the three parties never occur before the time of Jonathan Maccabaeus: even in the time of his brother Judas we hear only of the Hasidim (1 Macc. 2:42; 7:13-17; 2 Macc. 14:6). And though there was, as we have seen, a proto-Pharisaic and proto-Essene movement preceding the public emergence of the respective parties by a century or two, to suggest that, in the case of the (hypothetical) proto-Sadducean movement, it had been at work for nearly four centuries before it emerged as a distinct and organised party, is incredible.

Another indication that the Sadducees go back before the time of John Hyrcanus lies in their points of agreement with the Samaritans, notably their date for the Sheaf and Pentecost and their denial of the resurrection.[64] A comparison of the script, spelling and textual tradition of the Samaritan Pentateuch with that of manuscripts found at Qumran has now revealed that the breach between Samaritans and Jews only reached its completion between the mid-second and late first century B.C., when the Samaritans evidently became as exclusive towards the Jews as the Jews were towards the Samaritans. The crucial event in this period, which hardened the Samaritans' attitude, was probably the destruction of their temple on Mount Gerizim by John Hyrcanus about 120 B.C.[65] This was before he became a Sadducee (cp. Josephus, *Antiquities* 13:9:1, or 13:254-56; 13:10:5f, or 13:288-98). If, however, he was the originator of Sadduceeism, it is inconceivable that the Samaritans should have adopted some of his novel principles after he had destroyed their temple, and equally inconceivable that he should have adopted principles of theirs, holding them in the abhorrence that he did. Whereas, if the Sadducees originated earlier, it is very intelligible that the Samaritan rivals to the Jerusalem priesthood should have sympathised with the Sadducees' dissenting views.

Conversely, another indication that the Sadducean movement arose *after the time of Jeshua is* the prominence of angels in the oracles of Zechariah,

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[63] Mishnah Hagigah 2:2, Aboth 1:3ff. Cp. Jacob Neusner, *The Rabbinic Traditions about the Pharisees before 70*, vol. 3, p. 306f.

[64] That the Samaritans agreed with the Sadducees on these and other points (though they later accepted the resurrection) see J. A. Montgomery, *The Samaritans* (Philadelphia: Winston, 1907), p. 186f; J. E. H. Thomson, *The Samaritans* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1919), p. 132f.

[65] See J. D. Purvis, *The Samaritan Pentateuch and the Origin of the Samaritan Sect* (*ut supra*), p. VII; R. Pummer, "The Present State of Samaritan Studies", part 1, in *Journal of Semitic Studies*, vol. 21 (1976), pp. 39-61.

one of the two prophets who collaborated with Zerubbabel and Jeshua in their work (Zech. 1:9,11-14,19; 2:3; 3:1,3,5f; 4:1,4f; 5:5,10; 6:4f).

If we are to narrow down the period of origin of the Sadducean movement more than this, we shall have to do so by detailing its points of similarity to Essenism:

(a) both were reforming movements, appealing to Scripture in order to reform tradition (see p. 174, pp. 177-178).

(b) both were led by priests who called themselves "sons of Zadok" (see pp. 180-182).

(c) as biblicist movements, they both probably objected to the admission of the Ammonite prince Tobias as a proselyte, and not the Essenes alone. One cannot be certain about this, since the Sadducees were always characterised by wealth (see Josephus, *Antiquities* 13:10:6, or 13:298; 18:1:4, or 18:17), which suggests that they may have been a reform not within the lower priesthood of the Pharisaic societies, like the Essenes (see p. 186, note 33), but within the higher priesthood surrounding the actual high-priestly family. However, none of the high priests themselves is known to have been a Sadducee before the conversion of John Hyrcanus,[66] and since we know from 2 Maccabees that it was quite possible before the Maccabean revolt for the captain of the Temple to be of a different family from the high priest,[67] it may have been in the families surroundings the high-priestly family, rather than in that family itself, that the Sadducean reform arose. And since the Sadducees certainly objected to the Pharisaic suspension of some of the severe penalties imposed by the Pentateuch (discussed on p. 183), and repealed the Pharisaic decrees to this effect as soon as the high priest John Hyrcanus came over to their side and gave them the power (cp. Josephus, *Antiquities* 13:10:6, or 13:293-98), it would only be consistent for them to have objected also to the Pharisaic suspension of the law excluding Ammonites.

(d) as priestly movements, primarily, the Sadducean as well as the Essene movement probably felt the impropriety of allowing the effective religious leadership of the nation to remain in lay hands.

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[66] As we have seen (p. 177, pp. 180-181, pp. 201-202), Jaddua and Simon II were Pharisaic sympathisers, Onias III was an Essene sympathiser, and Jason, Menelaus and Alcimus were Hellenizing syncretists. Onias II can hardly have been a Sadducean sympathiser either, if he wanted his sister to marry an Ammonite, and made terms with the Pharisaic scribes to bring it about. On this showing, none of the high priests between the middle of the third century B.C. and John Hyrcanus was of Sadducean outlook, if one may assume that Jonathan and Simon Maccabaeus were not (see p. 211, p. 213).

[67] 2 Macc. 3:4; 4:23 state that, during the pontificate of the last two Zadokite high priests, Simon the brother of Menelaus was captain of the Temple, and we saw in note 27 that the brothers probably belonged to the course of Bilgah.

(e) as reforming movements, the Sadducees as well as the Essenes may have been predisposed in this direction by the influence of Hellenism. Moreover, just as the added speculative element in Essenism may have owed something to Hellenism, so may the added reductionist or sceptical element in Sadducceism. For if the Essene insistence on the existence of spirits, on the life to come and on divine predestination is suggestive of the influence of Stoicism, the Sadducean denials on the same three topics are equally suggestive of the influence of Epicureanism.[68]

Assuming that these various parallels are significant, it means that the proto-Sadducean movement arose at the same time (mid-third century B.C.) and under the same general influences as the proto-Essene, but that it arose in different circles of the priesthood and under the influence of different schools of Hellenistic thought, which accounts for the different direction in which it moved.

The closely related origins of the Essene and Sadducean movements are highly relevant to the current discussion whether the men of Qumran could have been Sadducees. Two contemporary groups, both predominantly priestly in their concerns and both in rivalry to the Pharisees, both using the Scriptures to criticize Pharisaic tradition, would be bound to have tenets in common, and what would be more significant than their agreements would be their differences. The Temple Scroll and the halakic letter 4QMMT, in particular, but also other Qumran texts, contain interpretations of the Law which are reported elsewhere to have been shared by the Sadducees. Nevertheless, the differences are also striking. With regard to the Temple Scroll, Yadin writes that:

> The similarity [with the Sadducees] in several fundamental laws is due to the fact that the author of the scroll and the Sadducees alike interpreted the Pentateuch according to the simple meaning of its text and that both have a "priestly" orientation towards several matters of ritual.

On the other hand, there stands:

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[68] See pp. 178-179. The reductionist character of Sadduceeism comes out particularly strongly in the accounts of the Sadducees given by Josephus (*War* 2:8:11, or 2:155-157; 2:8:14, or 2:163-165; *Antiquities* 18:1:3f., or 18:14-16) and the New Testament (Mark 12:18; Acts 23:8-9). It went so far as to evoke from Jesus the charge that they knew neither the Scriptures nor the power of God (Mark 12:24), and this, as well as the character of the Sadducean objection to the resurrection which Jesus is answering, indicates that it had a rationalistic basis, and was not due simply to a desire to confine themselves to Scripture. It seems from the version of Josephus's main account of the Jewish sects preserved by Hippolytus, that when the Sadducees were confronted with scriptural testimony to a belief which they rejected, like the resurrection, they resorted to a figurative interpretation (*Refutation* 9:29). This again indicates the influence of rationalism. There are no good grounds for thinking that the Sadducees had a smaller canon than the Pharisees, and it would have been difficult for them to escape references to angels, however small their canon. See also note 24.

> the total rejection of the very plan of the Temple by the author of the scroll, as against its acceptance by the Sadducees.[69]

Then again, there is the fact that the agreements between Qumran and what we know of the Essenes are even more remarkable than agreements with the Sadducees. J. M. Baumgarten details four agreements on legal points between the Qumran texts and what the rabbinical literature tells us about the Sadducees, but seven agreements between the Qumran texts and what Josephus tells us about the Essenes.[70]

Finally, one has to ask oneself what the men of Qumran were doing living in isolation at Qumran, if those presiding in the Temple at Jerusalem for most of the time that they were there were fellow-Sadducees?

We have assumed, in all that precedes, that the rise of the Essenes and the rise of the Sadducees have to be explained as native Palestinian developments. There is, of course, a rival hypothesis, propounded by Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, and based on a rather speculative interpretation of the Damascus Document, which holds that the peculiarities of the Essenes are due to the fact that these developed in Babylon, and that the Essenes only later moved to Palestine.[71] Now that the links between the Essenes and the Sadducees have become so plain (in addition to their known links with the Pharisees), the distinctive views of the Essenes no longer seem to invite so dramatic an explanation. Presumably no one would want to suggest that the Sadducees also were immigrants from Babylon. The three schools, no doubt, maintained some contact with their fellow-Jews in Babylon (not to mention Egypt and the other areas of the Dispersion), partly through the pilgrim-feasts; but, until the destruction of the Temple, Jerusalem was always the centre of Jewish religious life, and therefore the likely centre of influential developments in Jewish religious thought.[72]

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[69] *The Temple Scroll* (English edn., Jerusalem: The Israel Exploration Society, 1983), vol. 1, p. 400.

[70] "The Pharisaic-Sadducean Controversies about Purity and the Qumran Texts", in *Journal of Jewish Studies*, vol. 31 (Autumn 1980), pp. 157-170; "The Disqualifications of Priests in 4Q Fragments of the 'Damascus Document'", in *The Madrid Qumran Congress*, ed. J. T. Barrera and L. V. Montaner (Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 11, Leiden: Brill, 1992), vol. 2, pp. 503-513. The agreements with the Sadducees are drawn from the Temple Scroll, but some of the same points have now reappeared in the halakic letter 4QMMT, confirming Baumgarten's earlier interpretations. Baumgarten adds that the men of Qumran probably differed from the Sadducees also by extending the rules of purity beyond the Temple and the priesthood, and by requiring the immersion of the lampstand and the other Temple furniture after festivals.

[71] "The Essenes and their History", in *Revue Biblique*, vol. 81 (1974), pp. 215-244.

[72] Perhaps the only exception is the Jewish philosophical theology of Aristobulus and Philo, which could hardly have arisen in any other setting than Hellenistic Alexandria.

4. *THE ERA OF CONFLICT:*

(a) Between Hasidim and Hellenizers

The rise of two reforming schools of piety, under priestly scribes, did not at once cause open division. More priests may now have been scribes than before, but the traditionalists maintained their numerical strength and, at first, their influence with the high-priestly family. The next high priest after Onias II was the pious Simon II, a pronounced Pharisaic sympathiser, lauded by Ben Sira and the Mishnah.. A saying of his, fully in the spirit of the Book of Tobit, is preserved in the Mishnah:

> By three things is the world sustained: by the Law, by the Temple-service, and by deeds of loving kindness (Aboth 1:2).

The fact that there was no open division is shown by two pieces of evidence:

(i) that it was possible for his son, the similarly pious Onias III, to be an Essene-sympathiser instead, without any immediate disruption resulting. He is praised not only in the Book of Dreams (an Essene text) from 1 Enoch, as one of their "lambs" (1 En. 90:8), but also in 2 Maccabees (a work without Essene characteristics), which speaks of his "godliness" and "hatred of wickedness", because of which "the Laws were kept very well", and calls him "a zealot for the Laws", "reverend in bearing, yet gentle in manner and well-spoken, and exercised from a child in all points of virtue" (2 Macc. 3:1; 4:2; 15:12). All this in a work which, in defiance of the standard Essene calendar, makes Adar 13 a Sabbath (2 Macc. 15:1-5, 36)! One should contrast the situation three quarters of a century later. Then, when the three schools of thought had become three distinct parties, the effect of the high priest John Hyrcanus going over from the Pharisees to the Sadducees appears to have been a rebellion (cp. Josephus, *War* 1:2:8, or 1:67; *Antiquities* 13:10:7, or 13:299).—The other indication that there was no open division between the three schools as yet is

(ii) that the names of the three parties, Pharisees, Sadducees and Essenes, did not yet exist. All that we hear of are the Hasidim, or "pious" (Gk. Ἀσιδαῖοι). If, however, there were no distinguishing names in general use, there can have been no open division.

The Hasidim are first recorded as a distinct class or group within the nation at the time of the Maccabean rising. A company of them rallied to Mattathias and his friends in 167 B.C., soon after they began their revolt, and are described as "mighty men of Israel, every one that offered himself willingly for the Law" (1 Macc. 2:42). Later, in 162 B.C., they are identified by the Hellenizing high priest Alcimus with the warring party in revolt under the leadership of Judas Maccabaeus (2 Macc. 14:6), though, when Alcimus arrives with the Syrian army, a company of scribes representing them seeks

to make peace with him, as being "a priest of the seed of Aaron", and are deceived by his hypocritical assurances, while the Maccabees remain suspicious (1 Macc. 7:10-17). The Hasidim obviously took their title from the Hebrew Old Testament, where the חסידים of the Lord are the faithful and righteous, as contrasted with the proud and wicked (1 Sam. 2:9; Pss. 31:23; 37:28; 52:9; 97:10), but the term is there used in a quite general way, whereas in the Maccabean literature it denotes a readily identifiable class or group. They are evidently distinct from the Maccabees, but are their main supporters; they are pious and zealous for the Mosaic Law, and there are many scribes among them.

Seeing that we read of the Hasidim in the time of Judas but of the Pharisees, Sadducees and Essenes in the time of his successor Jonathan (see Josephus, *Antiquities* 13:5:9, or 13:171-73), it is always recognised that there is a close relationship between the Hasidim and the three parties. Older writers usually saw the Hasidim as the forerunners of the Pharisees, but recently some have seen them as the forerunners of the Essenes (so Zeitlin, Milik, etc.) and others as forerunners of both parties (so Jeremias, Hengel, etc.).[73] They certainly included the Essenes, since we know from 1 Enoch 90:9f that the enlightened ones, i.e. the Essenes, flocked to Judas's banner; but did they include others as well?

Since the Hasidim played so large a part in the Maccabean revolt, it is normally supposed that their title of "the pious" relates to their opposition to the Hellenizers, but as it now appears that the three schools of thought go back well before the Hellenizing crisis into the third (if not fourth) century B.C., it follows that the original reason for the name, to whichever school or schools it relates, is likely to be somewhat different. Bearing in mind that all three schools, not excluding the Sadducees, were scrupulous in their observance of the Law (according to their own interpretation of it),[74] it seems more probable that the name implies a contrast not simply with the Hellenizers but with all the negligent, the "people(s) of the land" whose non-observance of the Law always troubled the Pharisees so greatly, and of whom the Hellenizers were just conspicuous examples. In this case, the name Hasidim would probably have belonged primarily to the forerunners of the Pharisees, but would not have excluded either of the two reforming

[73] If the proposed derivation of the name "Essenes" from "Hasidim" or its Syriac equivalent could be established, that would settle the question, but there is increasing support for the alternative derivation from Aramaic אסיא "healers". See Menahem Mansoor's article "Essenes" in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, and Josephus *War* 2:8:6, or 2:136. "Healers" corresponds to the name "Therapeutae" given to a quasi-Essene community in Philo's *De Vita Contemplativa*.

[74] As Tcherikover rightly emphasises (*Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews*, pp. 262-65). The Philhellenism of the Sadducean high priests of the first century B.C. was a very different thing from the syncretistic Hellenism of the previous century.

schools of thought which arose in their midst, since these too were observant of the Law, and these too became only at a later date separate, rival parties with names of their own.

The motives and policies of the Hellenizers have been examined by Tcherikover with a thoroughness and perspicacity which leave little to be desired.[75] If, however, to the Pharisees (and the other Hasidim) they were just *am ha-aretz*, their only influence on the development of the three parties was probably to make the latter much more suspicious of Hellenism than their precursors were, or than they would themselves have been in other circumstances.

(b) Between Pharisees, Sadducees and Essenes

It is clear from evidence of various sorts that a great change came over the Pharisaic, Sadducean and Essene movements in the second century B.C. So great was the change as to give rise to the common view that the three movements actually originated in that century. Yet this, as we have seen, was not the case. The three schools of thought and their characteristic opinions can be traced back much further, and the second-century changes hardly affected these opinions, except to develop and accentuate them—otherwise the changes were of a different kind. One of the major causes of change was, of course, the activity of the Hellenizing high priests, followed by the Antiochene persecution and the Maccabean revolt, but this was not the earliest or sole cause.

The earliest cause lay right outside the second century. It was simply the rise of the two reforming schools of thought alongside the Pharisaic in the mid-third century B.C. Until that juncture, Pharisaism had been the sole important religious influence in the nation for at least 90 and perhaps nearer 180 years. One or more of the high priests had openly sided with it, and the rest had been prepared to follow its guidance. The appearance of two dissenting schools of thought did not immediately alter the situation, since no high priest immediately sided with either of them, but the possibility of this happening was now present.

The second influential development was the accession of the high priest Onias III, an Essene sympathiser. His father Simon II had been a Phariasic sympathiser, and died not before the ascent of Seleucus IV to the throne of Syria in 187 B.C., according to Josephus (*Antiquities* 12:4:10f, or 12: 224-29). As was noted on p. 210, the Essene views of the new high priest do not seem to have caused any immediate disruption, and his exceptional piety may have made the Pharisees more tolerant of what, at the time, they probably expected to be no more than a temporary interlude in their long ascendancy. To the Essenes, however, this was the fulfilment of their hopes.

[75] *Op. cit.*, especially pp. 152-234.

In the event, both schools were disappointed. In 175 B.C., with the help of the new king of Syria, Antiochus Epiphanes, Onias was supplanted in the high priesthood by his brother Jeshua-Jason, and the new high priest was neither a Pharisee nor an Essene but a Hellenizing syncretist. None of the Essenes was ever to hold the high priesthood again, but almost the same was true of the Pharisees. There were to be two more Hellenizing high priests, and then a period of seven years without a high priest; and though the first two Maccabean high priests (their family having belonged, probably, to the "trustworthy", though not to the Hasidim)[76] may well have followed traditional views, as the third certainly did for a time, this respite for the Pharisees was only to last about 42 years. For around 110 B.C., the third Maccabean high priest, John Hyrcanus, went over to the Sadducees (cp. Josephus, *Antiquities* 13:10:5f, or 13:288-98), and from then onwards the high priesthood was to be in Sadducean hands—however much hampered by Pharisaic opposition—more or less continuously.[77]

In retrospect, therefore, the Pharisees saw the death of Simon II and the accession of Onias III as a watershed. Up to then, the high priesthood had been effectively in Pharisaic hands, but after then it ceased to be. This is one of the reasons why, with Simon II, the long anonymity of the "men of the Great Synagogue" comes to an end. After this, the chief upholders of the traditions have to be laymen. So, in chapter 1 of Mishnah Aboth, Simon II hands on the (oral) Law not to Onias III (an Essene) but to Antigonus of Soko, and Antigonus hands it on to a line of named Pharisaic teachers, who have their own succession, independent of the succession of the high priests.

The third development was the rise of the Hellenizing movement, begun by Jeshua-Jason and culminating, for the Essenes, in the murder of Onias III by the Syrians at the instigation of Jason's successor Menelaus. This murder, which is recorded in 2 Macc. 4:32-38 and is referred to in the Book of Dreams (see p. 177), occurred about 171 B.C. Up to that point, the Essenes could hope to see the rightful high priest restored, but when he was murdered, and his son fled to Egypt and established the temple at Leontopolis, making it impossible for him to return, their hopes were dashed. What steps they took as a result we do not know, but very likely it was now that they started withdrawing the members of their societies from their life among other Jews into separate, independent communities. At all events, the Damascus Document, which dates the rise of the Essenes 390 years after the beginning of the Exile, is probably pointing to this year and this event as the occasion of their rise.[78]

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[76] See p. 197, p. 211.
[77] See Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus*, p. 229f.
[78] See pp. 234-235.

The fourth development was the raising of the standard of revolt against the persecuting Syrians by Mattathias Maccabaeus, and then by Judas his son, in 167 B.C. The Essenes rallied to Judas's standard (1 Enoch 90:9f), as did the Hasidim generally, and it is at this juncture that the rise of the Essenes is dated by the Book of Dreams (see p. 177). Clearly, it does not make much difference whether one dates the emergence of the Essenes as a distinct party at the beginning of their withdrawal into their own communities or at their joining of the Maccabean revolt four years later. In both ways they signalised their alienation from the Hellenizing high priests and their determination to stand by the Mosaic Law.

The fifth development was the rededication of the Temple by Judas Maccabaeus in 164 B.C. (1 Macc. 4:36-61; 2 Macc. 10:1-8). This is spoken of with approval in Greek Testament of Levi 17:10, and must have been one of the main purposes for which the Essenes and the other Hasidim supported Judas's campaign. Now that their religious goals were on the way to being achieved, we find the Hasidim ready to make peace with the new Syrian-sponsored high priest Alcimus in 162 B.C., provided he is willing to complete the process and grant "justice"; though when he treacherously kills sixty of them, the rest take warning (1 Macc. 7:10-18). On rededicating the Temple, Judas "chose blameless priests, such as had pleasure in the Law" (1 Macc. 4:42), but we read nothing of him appointing a new high priest, for reasons discussed on pp. 180-181. This meant that Menelaus was left nominally in office until his death in 162 B.C., but whether he (or, except very briefly, his successor Alcimus) was allowed access to the sanctuary seems extremely doubtful, and this may indeed be the occasion when the priestly course of Bilgah, to which Menelaus apparently belonged, was prohibited from ministering in the Temple ever again (see note 27). After Alcimus's death in 159 B.C., there was a period of seven years without any high priest at all (cp. Josephus, *Antiquities* 20:10:3, or 20:237), and this may have been effectively the case for most of the previous five years as well, since 164 B.C. During that whole period, the "blameless priests" chosen by Judas, who were doubtless chosen from all schools of thought among the Hasidim who supported him—Pharisees, Sadducees and Essenes alike—were presumably able, to a considerable extent, to observe the law of worship according to their own varying understandings of it. A good deal of confusion must have resulted.

The sixth development was the appointment of Jonathan Maccabaeus as high priest in 152 B.C. (1 Macc. 10:15-21). He was appointed by the Seleucid monarch of Syria, like his three predecessors, and he was already the secular ruler of the nation—an office which had been combined with the high priesthood for centuries. He was a priest of the course of Jehoiarib, not a member of the old high-priestly family, but we have seen (pp. 180-181)

that it is unlikely that any close relative of that family remained in the country. The confusion of the period without a high priest demanded that one be appointed, and Jonathan was the obvious choice. Yet, when he was appointed, his high priesthood was apparently rejected by the Essenes (Greek Testament of Levi 17:11; Habakkuk Commentary, 1QpHab, *passim*),[79] and it is in his pontificate that the Pharisees, Sadducees and Essenes are first recorded, under these names, as distinct religious parties (cp. Josephus, *Antiquities* 13:5:9, or 13:171-73). The 20 years between the death of Onias III and the rise of the Teacher of Righteousness, of which Damascus Document, CD, 1:9-12 speaks, during which the Essenes were without effective leadership, and so "were like blind men groping for the way", ended about 151 B.C., the year after Jonathan's pontificate began;[80] so it was probably under the Teacher's leadership that the Essenes made their protest and withdrew from participation in Temple worship until better days should come or the eschatological Temple should be built.

The reason for the Essene protest is often supposed to be Jonathan's genealogy, as not being descended from Zadok like the old high-priestly family.[81] We have seen, however, that it is doubtful whether there were any close relatives of that family in the country, and that even the Essenes do not use "sons of Zadok" in a strictly genealogical way (cp. pp. 180-182). The real reason for their protest, probably, was that Jonathan had not adopted Essene views, but had started governing the Temple and its worship on traditional (that is, Pharisaic) lines. The liberty that the Essenes had enjoyed there while there was no high priest was consequently at an end, and their hope that any new high priest would take his lead from Onias III, and not from Simon II and his predecessors, had been frustrated. The Essenes had their own rules about the sacrifices, of which the Aramaic Testament of Levi and the Temple Scroll give a detailed account, as well as their own festal calendar, so this was a very serious development.[82]

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[79] That the "Wicked Priest" of the Habakkuk Commentary is Jonathan rather than Simon Maccabaeus, or any later high priest, is plausibly argued by J. T. Milik (*Ten Years of Discovery*, pp. 64-73, 84-87). See also the new Schürer, *ut supra*, vol. 2, p. 586f.

[80] This assumes that the preceding 390 years (Damascus Document, CD, 1:5-9) expired at the murder of Onias III, about 171 B.C., as is argued on p. 214, pp. 234-235.

[81] A passage in the Tosephta and Talmuds is interpreted by Jeremias as meaning that the Pharisees brought some such objection against the high priests of the Maccabean line (*Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus*, p. 189). This, however, was long after the dynasty had antagonised the Pharisees by going over to the Sadducees. The only objection which we know to have been made by a Pharisee in the earlier period was that the mother of John Hyrcanus was reputed to have been once captured by the Syrians (cp. Josephus, *Antiquities* 13:10:5, or 13:288-292), which, in the light of Lev. 21:7, 14, would have impaired his priestly descent from Jehoiarib, but would not have affected the question of descent from Zadok, to which he made no claim.

[82] If the halakic letter 4QMMT is addressed to the Temple authorities (as is likely), and if it dates from this period (as many believe), then it is significant that the views it is criticising seem to be Pharisaic views. If, however (as some think), it is of later date, after the high priests became Sadducees, it is still more significant, since it means that in practice the high priests

The Pharisees, having discovered by experience that, if they once lost the high priesthood, it might be a long time before they regained it, and it might in the meantime get into the most unsuitable hands, had probably made up their minds that, in so far as they could influence the appointment (and the Syrian king would hardly have thought to make Jonathan high priest without Jewish prompting), any new high priest must be someone of traditional, Pharisaic views. If this determination of theirs became generally known, they doubtless had, as usual, the support of the majority of the nation, and Jonathan, a national hero, may even have been the popular choice. The Essenes, for their part, conscious of being a leaderless minority, but conscious also of having possessed the high priesthhood immediately before the Hellenizing apostasy, were probably equally determined that the nation should continue without a high priest until a suitable Essene candidate should arise (which happened, just too late, in the person of the Teacher of Righteousness). There is likely to have been a measure of fanaticism in the Essene determination, because they held that (through the angel Uriel and other supernatural means) their calendar and their interpretation of the sacrificial laws had been divinely revealed, so it was unthinkable that a new high priest should abolish these. The Sadducees, knowing that they too were a minority, and having never held the high priesthood, probably, or claimed that their interpretation of the laws was due to special revelation, might have been inclined to view the situation more calmly, but for the ardent rivalry of the other two schools. As it was, they too entered the field as contenders, and their ambitions were at length gratified, though not for about another 42 years.

The Jews were not at this stage free to appoint their own high priest and simply have the decision confirmed by the Syrian king, as in the time of Jonathan's successor, his brother Simon (1 Macc. 13:41f; 14:35,38-41, 47). However, they had not fought a war of liberation for fifteen years without determining to have some say in the matter. When, therefore, the appointment was made, the reaction must have been strong, both among the satisfied Pharisees, who looked forward to being the advisers of the new high priest, and among the dissatisfied Sadducees and Essenes, who could have no such expectations. The Sadducees continued in communion with the high priest, and became the great rivals of his favoured advisers, but the Essenes separated themselves from him, resolving to have no part in worship which they regarded as contrary to the true interpretation of the Law. From this time onwards, therefore, the breach between the three schools was open and irreconcilable, and they naturally acquired their distinctive party-names.

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continued to follow Pharisaic interpretations, even though they disagreed with them (cp. pp. 171-172).

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE YEAR OF THE MESSIAH: JEWISH AND EARLY CHRISTIAN CHRONOLOGIES, AND THEIR ESCHATOLOGICAL CONSEQUENCES

There is strong evidence to show that the Essenes, the Pharisees and the Zealots all thought that they could date, at least approximately, the time when the Son of David would come, and that in each case their calculations were based upon Daniel's prophecy of the 70 Weeks (Dan. 9:24-27), understood as 70 weeks of years. The later attempts of the Christian Fathers to show that this prophecy was fulfilled by the coming of Jesus, and accords with the time at which he came, had therefore a considerable tradition behind them.

In ancient Jewish literature, the interpretation of Daniel's 70 Weeks is always linked to some kind of chronological scheme. Three main types of chronological scheme are reflected in that literature, the Essene, the Hellenistic and the Pharisaic. They are alike in beginning from Creation, and in proceeding on the assumption that, for the earliest period of history, time can be computed by adding together the ages of patriarchs in Genesis 5; and it is because of the wide differences between the figures in the different texts of Genesis 5 that their first major divergence occurs, the Essene scheme following the Samaritan-type Hebrew text, the Hellenistic following the Septuagint Greek, and the Pharisaic following the Massoretic Hebrew. The three schemes also agree in carrying on the chronology up to the date when they were devised (from the third century B.C. onwards), and the Essene and Pharisaic, but not apparently the Hellenistic, go further and try to project the chronology into the future, so as to give a date to events foretold in prophecy, such as the coming of the Messiah.

All three chronological schemes, as surviving specimens show, had been worked out by the beginning of the Christian era. The first to be devised seems, not surprisingly, to have been the Hellenistic, which had already been drawn up by Demetrius in the late third century B.C.; but the Hellenistic scheme appears to have been early corrupted, as we shall see, and only survives in its entirety in the revised form produced in the latter part of the first century A.D. by Josephus. So the first of the schemes to survive in substantially its original form is the Essene, embodied in the Book of Jubilees and other works from the mid-second century B.C. The antiquity of both these schemes is further proved by the relatively accurate way in which

they link the chronology of the biblical period with that of their own times, both of them dating the Babylonian Exile from about 560 to 490 B.C. (see Table I on p. 257). The Pharisaic scheme, by contrast, is first attested in the Assumption of Moses (late first century B.C. or early first century A.D.), and dates the Exile far too late, from 423 to 353 B.C.

Early Christian chronologies are largely dependent on Hellenistic Jewish models, but they combine them with a Pharisaic eschatology (see Table I on p. 257 and the discussion on pp. 239-240) and with the Christian identification of the Messiah.

The Pharisaic chronology (which, as we shall see on pp. 266-267, is essentially that of the Zealots also) is set out, ready to hand, in Seder Olam Rabbah, and the Hellenistic chronology, though we shall need to set it out for ourselves, has a well-known main source (namely, Josephus). The Essene chronology, however, depends upon a variety of texts, all represented in some form at Qumran, but which have not hitherto been related to one other in any generally agreed way. Our first task, therefore, must be to try to reconstruct the Essene chronology.

Essene Chronology

It has often been pointed out that the Qumran library did not consist solely of the writings of the community. It included also kindred works known outside, such as 1 Enoch, the Testament of Levi and Jubilees, and even works which are not of Essene character, namely, Tobit, Ecclesiasticus and perhaps the Epistle of Jeremy. However, works of the former kind were works with which the Qumran community strongly identified, and the only works of the latter kind found there are works which date from before the three schools of thought separated into distinct religious parties in the time of Jonathan Maccabaeus, and which, though proto-Pharisaic in their main tendency, retain traits which would commend them to the Essenes. In Tobit 6:17 predestination is taught (cp. p. 173); Tobit 12:15 speaks of the seven archangels, one of them named Raphael (cp. 1 Enoch 20:1-8; 81:5); Sirach 44:16 (Heb.) describes Enoch as "a miracle of knowledge to all generations"; Epistle of Jeremy 3 speaks of the Babylonian Captivity as continuing for seven generations, recalling the post-exilic "Era of Wickedness", so prominent in the Damascus Document. By contrast, Pharisaic literature which dates from after the separation of the Essenes from the other two parties is totally absent from the Qumran library.

The remaining works found at Qumran are works which were unknown before they were found there. Whether they were all composed there is quite uncertain, and in some of them Essene ideas are less clearly expressed than in others. But since the library seems to have been confined to more or less

congenial literature, it is probably not rash to treat all these works as expressing a common outlook. Especially is this true of the chronological texts, which regularly seem to reflect a peculiar kind of chronology based upon the Essene calendar.

The Essene calendar, expounded in the books 1 Enoch and Jubilees and exemplified in texts from Qumran, was the subject of chapter five. It revolves round certain sacred numbers, and round multiples of those numbers with each other or with themselves. The chief of these numbers is 7, but 30 (3 x 10) is also important. The 7-day week and the 30-day month are the basic components of this calendar. The major holy days of the calendar are also 30 in number (see p. 147). At the end of each quarter, a day is added between the months, so that the year shall total 364 days and be exactly divisible into 7-day weeks. The weeks are also grouped in 7s, not only the 7 weeks from the Sheaf to Pentecost, but also the 7 from Pentecost to the Firstfruits of Wine, and the 7 from the Firstfruits of Wine to the Firstfruits of Oil. The years themselves make up year-weeks (7 years, the 7th being the sabbatical year), and the year-weeks make up jubilees (7 year-weeks, or 49 years, the 49th being the jubilee year). That the Essene jubilee consisted of 49 years not 50 (50 only if the years were counted inclusively) is repeatedly indicated in the Book of Jubilees.[1]

Now, the Book of Jubilees is concerned not just with the calendar but with chronology, and it deals with long periods of time. Starting with the creation, it attempts to give a precise, or fairly precise, date to all the important events from then until the Exodus from Egypt and the entry into the promised land, covering 50 jubilees in all. The jubilee (made up of 7 year-weeks) is the basic unit of its chronology, though, under the probable influence of Daniel's prophecy of the 70 Weeks (Dan. 9:24-27), jubilees are usually in Essene texts reckoned in 10s rather than 7s (for 70 x 7 = 10 x 49 = 490). 10 is evidently another sacred number (perhaps connected also with the 30-day month), and this presumably means, on the pattern of Judges 20:10 and Amos 5:3, that the same is true of 100, or 10 x 10.[2] We thus find

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[1] See p. 131. It is sometimes argued, and most ingeniously by Ernest Wiesenberg in "The Jubilee of Jubilees" (*Revue de Qumran*, vol. III, no. 9, Feb. 1961, pp. 3-40), that the Qumran jubilee year was the 50th year not the 49th, but that it coincided with the 1st year of the following jubilee. This would make 50 jubilees total 2451 years, not 2450, which he contends is not contrary to Jubilees 48:1; 50:4. It is, however, contrary to Jub. 45:13, where 3 jubilees are equated with 147 years, not 148, and it is contrary to a group of related texts which we shall be examining, where 10 jubilees are equated with 490 years, not 491. It is also inexplicable on this theory why Jubilees dates as many as 6 events in what would be jubilee years, yet never refers to these years as jubilee years, but rather as the 1st year of the 1st week of the following jubilee, which is a fact of comparatively small significance (see Jub. 4:2, 9; 8:1; 19:1; 24:21; 35:1).

[2] See also Exod. 18:21, 25; Deut. 1:15, as echoed in Damascus Document, CD, 13:1f; Rule of War, 1 Q M, 4:1-5, 16f; Messianic Rule, 1 Q Sa, 1:14f, 29f.

several great eras employed, of which the clearest is the decade of jubilees (10 x 7 x 7 years). We shall look at this first, and afterwards investigate other apparent eras, namely, the jubilee of jubilees (7 x 7 x 7 x 7 years), the century of jubilees or jubilee of centuries (10 x 10 x 7 x 7 years or 7 x 7 x 10 x 10 years), and the week of centuries (7 x 10 x 10 years) and of other significant periods.

1. *The Decade of Jubilees*

The chronology of the Book of Jubilees seems to have been standard at Qumran. Thus, with regard to the life of Abraham, the figures in the Cave 1 Genesis Apocryphon 22:27-29 (as J. A. Fitzmyer points out in his edition, *ad loc.*) agree with those in Jubilees 13. Similarly, the figures in the Psalms of Joshua, 4 Q 379, fragment 12, agree with those in Jub. 50:4; and J. T. Milik tells us that the fragments of the Cave 4 Visions of Jacob agree with the Jubilees chronology.[3] Jubilees was the main attempt by a member of this school of thought to produce a comprehensive chronology of a large part of history. He aimed at meticulous precision, usually dating events by the year, and sometimes by the month and day. In doing this, he found it necessary to make unobtrusive adjustments to the details of the existing Essene chronology of the patriarchal period, in the interest of general consistency.[4]

In the same way as with the three texts mentioned above, it is probable that the figures in the fragmentary Qumran text or texts known as The Ages of the Creation (4 Q 180,181) agreed with those given in Jubilees. The two manuscripts 4Q 180, 181 are certainly related, since the chronological material in them overlaps, word for word. The Ages of the Creation seems to belong to a series of texts which employ the period of 10 jubilees, and which are all more or less directly related to Daniel's prophecy of the 70 Weeks, understood as weeks of years. It is a clear consequence of the Qumran pre-occupation with the 49-year jubilee that they regularly reshape the 70 weeks as 10 jubilees, for (as noted above) 70 x 7 years = 10 x 49 years = 490 years. The other texts in this group are the Cave 11 Melchizedek Document; four of the pseudo-Moses texts (previously

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[3] In *Qumran: sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu*, ed. Mathias Delcor, pp. 103-05.

[4] In particular, he separates between the descent of the angels to earth and their fall into sin, so as to keep to the biblical order of events in Genesis 5-6 (Jubilees 4:15; 5:1; contrast 1 Enoch 6:1-8), and he disregards exact dates for the lives of Levi, Kohath and Amram, which, taken together with the age of Moses at the time of the Exodus, would have reduced the length of the Egyptian captivity below 238 years (Jubilees 28:14; 44:14 - 47:1; 50:4; contrast Aramaic Testament of Levi 62-82, Charles's numeration; Visions of Amram, 4 Q 543, 545, ad. init.). 238 is approximately the number of years indicated in the Samaritan Hebrew and LXX text of Exod. 12:40. In saying this, one is assuming that Jubilees was written after, even if only shortly after, the Testament of Levi. What looks like an earlier attempt at a chronology of biblical history, incorporating the Testament of Levi's figures, is the very fragmentary MS 4 Q 559.

regarded as pseudo-Ezekiel), 4 Q 387a, 388a, 389 and 390; and the Greek Testament of Levi 16-18. They will be considered in turn.

(a) *The Ages of the Creation (4 Q 180, 181)*

As J. T. Milik interprets these fragments, the former of which begins with the title "Interpretation concerning the ages made by God", they have nothing to do with the decade of jubilees, but state that the periods from the creation of man to Noah, and from Noah to Abraham's begetting of Isaac, are 10 weeks.[5] He supposes there to be 50 more weeks up to the end of human history, making 70 in all, and equates the weeks with generations, on the model of the "70 generations" of 1 Enoch 10:11f. He ignores the fact that Enoch's 70 generations do not begin at the creation and so cover the whole of history, and that "week" or "seven" (שבוע) is a very curious term for a generation. "Noah", however, is a conjectural restoration at a sizeable gap in the text, and so is "weeks". Since the text goes on to say that its

> interpretation concerns Azazel and the angels who came to the daughters of men, and they bore to them giants,

which 1 Enoch and Jubilees connect with the time of Jared (1 En. 6:6; Jub. 4:15), "Jared" should probably be restored as well as "Noah", and a third name, "Eber", I suggest, also; and, since Jared did not live around the world's 10th week, according to any known chronology, "jubilees" should be restored, rather than "weeks". The text will then read:

> This is the order of the cre[ation to Jared, to Noah, to Eber, and to Abraham un]til he begot Isaac: the 10 [jubilees].[6]

According to Jubilees 4:15, Jared was born in the 10th jubilee (Anno Mundi 460); according to Jub. 4:28ff., Noah was flourishing throughout the 20th jubilee (born A.M. 707, begot his first son A.M. 1207); according to Jub. 8:7, Eber was born soon after the conclusion of the 30th jubilee (A.M. 1503); and according to Jub. 13:16; 15:1; 16:12f., Isaac was born soon after the conclusion of the 40th jubilee (A.M. 1987). These periods are a little

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[5] *The Books of Enoch*, pp. 248-252, and elsewhere. Pages 245-272 of Milik's book are devoted to the texts with which we are concerned, and though this chapter will be constantly critical of his conclusions, it will also be constantly dependent upon his pioneering work. On The Ages of the Creation and the Melchizedek Document, see also his article "Milki-sedeq et Milki-resa", in *Journal of Jewish Studies*, vol. 23:2 (Autumn 1972), pp. 95-144.

[6] Still other restorations are possible. Devorah Dimant suggests "the so[ns of Noah from Shem to Abraham un]til he begot Isaac: the ten [generations]" ("The Pesher on the Periods", in *Israel Oriental Studies*, vol. 9, 1979, pp. 77-102). The difficulty with this is that the phrase "until he begot Isaac" implies that we are dealing with a term of years, not a number of generations; and if the phrase were indeed used to introduce a number of generations, it would indicate that Isaac was one of the generations, thus making "ten" the wrong number (it ought to be eleven, or, if Noah were included, twelve.)

less precise than the author of Jubilees might himself have desired, but are reasonably close.

The Ages of the Creation does indeed go on to speak of a later period of "70 weeks" during which "Azazel" would lead "Israel" astray. However, these 70 weeks are clearly not the whole of human history, as Milik supposes, but a period of 70 weeks or 10 jubilees during the history of *Israel*. They could either be the Era of Wickedness, so often mentioned in the Damascus Document, which was still continuing and would last until the coming of the priestly and lay Messiahs (Damascus Doc, CD, 6:10,14; 12:23f; 14:19; 15:7,10), or else the period of Israel's blindness, described in 1 Enoch 89-90, and presided over by a succession of 70 angelic "shepherds" or rulers. The latter period began in the course of the monarchy and ended with the rise of the Essenes and of Judas Maccabaeus (1 Enoch 89:54 - 90:18). Either or both of these periods may well have been reckoned by the Essenes as lasting for 70 year-weeks or 490 years. The Ages of the Creation, in its fragmentary state, does not tell us what happened at the end of the 5th decade of jubilees (only at the end of the 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th), but the Book of Jubilees does tell us: it was then that the entry into the promised land under Joshua took place (Jub. 50:4). From the entry into the promised land, 1 Kings 6:1 takes us to the building of Solomon's Temple, which (if the Hebrew text is followed, not the Septuagint, and the "coming of the Israelites out of Egypt" is equated with their entry into Canaan, as in 1 Kings 8:16) began 480 years later.[7] It appears from 1 Kings 6-9 that the completion of the Temple furnishings and the subsequent dedication of the Temple did not follow for another 20 years. So once again we have a great event which took place just after the conclusion of a decade of jubilees (the 6th). From then until the end of the monarchy was at least 370 years, as the lengths of the reigns in Kings and Chronicles show; and, because of the perplexing character of the regnal figures, it could easily have been reckoned by the Essenes as 50 or 60 years more. Add the 70 years of the Exile, and we have another 490 years, the 7th decade of jubilees. The period of Israel's blindness under the 70 angelic shepherds, described in 1 Enoch 89-90, was well under way by the end of the Exile, but the Era of Wickedness, featured in the Damascus Document, may not have been, so here, very likely, we have the 8th decade of jubilees, during which "Azazel" led "Israel" astray. How many more decades of jubilees the author expected, after the 8th, one can only conjecture, but since 10 was a significant number for him, it seems likely that he expected 2 more decades, making 10 in all. 10 periods of 10 jubilees, each lasting 490 years, would make the total length of the history of

[7] The Septuagint figure is 440. Unfortunately, the fragments of Kings found at Qumran do not include 1 Kings 6:1.

the world, past and future, 4,900 years. We shall discuss this tentative conclusion again later, in the light of further evidence.

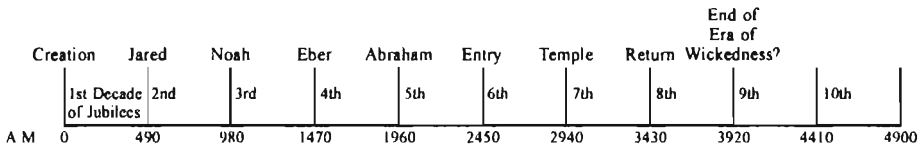

Fig. 1: *The Decade of Jubilees*

(b) *The Melchizedek Document (11 Q Melch).*

The Damascus Document, CD, 12:23f; 14:19 states that the Era of Wickedness will extend until the coming of the priestly and lay Messiahs (or Messiah), who, as the latter passage says, will "atone for the iniquity" of God's servants. This phrase is probably drawn from Daniel 9:24f. (part of the prophecy of the 70 Weeks), which uses the same Hebrew expression עון כפר and which likewise relates to a Messiah. The phrase seems to be reflected also in the Melchizedek Document from Qumran Cave 11, which concerns "the jubilee that follows the 9 jubilees" (70 year-weeks = 10 jubilees), and states that

> the Day of Atonement is the end of the 10th jubilee, when all the Sons of Light and the men of the lot of Melchizedek will be atoned for.

Moreover, the Melchizedek Document (if correctly reconstructed) goes on to refer to Daniel, and to quote the reference in Dan. 9:25 to "the Messiah" as fulfilled at this same period.

The Melchizedek Document, therefore, is based upon Daniel's prophecy of the 70 Weeks (Dan. 9:24-27), which are once again rearranged as 10 jubilees, and so are clearly taken to be weeks of years (70 x 7 years = 10 x 49 years = 490 years). The re-arrangement was probably suggested by Dan. 9:25 itself, where we read that

> from the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem, to the Messiah, the prince, will be 7 weeks [i.e. 1 jubilee] and 62 weeks.

It is important to note that, according to the Melchizedek Document, the Messiah does not come after the 7 weeks (as in so many modern interpretations of Daniel 9) but after the 7+62 weeks (as in the ancient translations).[8] Otherwise he would be found in the first of the jubilees, not in the last. As it is, his coming is still future, and the "tenses" of the verbs show it, no less than the characteristics of his companion Melchizedek. The

[8] See pp. 261-262

fragmentary condition of the Melchizedek Document leaves us uncertain how many eschatological figures are expected, but the Messiah seems to be kept distinct from Melchizedek, who is expected in the same jubilee.[9]

Melchizedek is, of course, a priest, and he appears also to be an angel incarnate (like Jacob in the Prayer of Joseph),[10] or at least to have angelic characteristics. The Messiah, the prince (interestingly enough) seems to be given a preaching role, derived from Isa. 61:1. But the overall conception is presumably a further development of the idea of the priestly and lay Messiahs, as found in the Damascus Document. The Damascus Document was perhaps composed about 100 B.C., whereas the Melchizedek Document (of which the manuscript is Herodian) may have been composed some decades later.

(c) *The Pseudo-Moses Documents (4 Q 387a, 388a, 389 and 390)*

We have seen that both the Era of Wickedness and Daniel's 70 Weeks (or 10 jubilees) end with the coming of the Messiah and with atonement, and it might be inferred that the two periods are the same. Such a conclusion is strengthened by four of the Pseudo-Moses documents from Qumran Cave 4 (formerly assigned to the Pseudo-Ezekiel Document), 4 Q 387a, 388a, 389 and 390. Referring to these parts of the Pseudo-Ezekiel Document, then still unpublished, Milik told us that it is concerned with a period of 10 jubilees, subdivided into year-weeks, and marked by the repeated transgressions of the sons of Aaron.[11] It is, therefore, a period of wickedness. Moreover, the period commences "from the destruction/desolate state of the land" (האר[ץ לחרבן). This phrase, as in Damascus Document, CD, 5:20, probably means the Exile, and since the Exile was now past, the reference could be to the end of it as easily as to the beginning.[12] If so, it is the same epoch as the commencement of Daniel's 70 Weeks, which are dated from "the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem", in the same year as Daniel's prayer, the 1st year of Darius the Mede (Dan. 9:1, 23, 25).

It may be wondered why the Essenes interpreted Daniel's 70 Weeks as a period of wickedness, and specifically of wickedness among the priests.

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[9] And probably in the same week of that jubilee. The figurative interpretation of Lev. 25:13 which the Melchizedek Document gives, that in the first week of the jubilee God "will cast the lot" of his servants "among the portions of Melchizedek", is hardly something that is to happen on the earthly scene.

[10] See M. R. James, *The Lost Apocrypha of the Old Testament* (London: S.P.C.K., 1920), pp. 21-31.

[11] *The Books of Enoch*, p. 254f.

[12] Milik supposes it to be the beginning of the Exile that is meant. The epoch of the desolation of the Second Temple, used in the rabbinical literature, does indeed refer to the beginning of its desolation, for the end of its desolation had never arrived. The present document, however, was written while the Second Temple was still standing, and refers to a desolation of the land which had ended after 70 years.

That it was a period of wickedness they may have inferred from Dan. 9:24, where we read that

> 70 weeks are decreed upon thy people and upon thy holy city to finish transgression and to make an end of sins...

This could be taken as meaning that transgression and sins will characterise the 70 Weeks, and will only be brought to an end at the end of those weeks. As for the wickedness being primarily priestly, this may be based on such passages as Hos. 4:6-9 and Mal. 2:6-9 (where the sins of the nation are traced back to the sins of the priests, its teachers) and, of course, on actual experience. The high priest had for years been the indigenous ruler of the nation, there being no king or governor except a foreigner; but the chief priests, as we have seen,[13] had been negligent about teaching, and had conformed in their practice to views which the Essenes rejected.

Now that the Pseudo-Moses documents have been published, we can see more of their meaning. They certainly seem to be inter-related in what they have to say. 4 Q 387a says that the faithful will instruct the disobedient nation "until ten jubilees of years are complete". This is the whole period in question. It adds that "the kingdom of Israel will perish in those days", and it connects the "priests of Jerusalem" with the serving of other gods. 4 Q 388a says that "a blasphemous king will arise for the nations and will do evil things" (a statement repeated in 4 Q 389), and "in his days I will destroy the kingdom of Egypt... I will destroy Egypt and Israel and deliver them up to the sword... I have abandoned the country... to serve other gods". This seems clearly to refer to the persecuting king Antiochus Epiphanes, his invasion of Israel and Egypt, and the Hellenizing crisis in his day.

The largest and most informative fragments belong to 4 Q 390. They appear to condemn the priestly leaders of the whole post-exilic period, apart from Jeshua and his companions ("apart from those who were the first to go up from the land of captivity in order to build the Temple"). The culmination of the apostasy comes "in the seventh jubilee from the desolation of the land" (i.e. in the seventh jubilee of the ten), when "they will forget the Law, the festival, the Sabbath and the covenant, and they will disobey everything and will do what is evil in my eyes". Shortly before this terrible time, however, God raises up a faithful remnant: "But I will speak to them and send them precepts and they will understand all that they have lost, they and their fathers". It is "when this generation passes" that the great apostasy comes.

In judgement on Israel's apostasy, God abandons them to the sword "for a week of years". A further judgement is controversy within the nation: "I

[13] See pp. 191-192, pp. 201-202.

will go back to deliver them into the hands of the sons of Aaron... seventy years... they will begin to argue with one another for seventy years, from the day on which they break this vow and the covenant". The seventy years, beginning with the Hellenizing syncretism in 175 B.C., is ten times the length of the seven-year period of oppression, which is probably a significant fact (seventy years is likely to extend well beyond the authors' lifetime). The seven years of oppression probably dates from about 171 B.C., when Onias III was murdered, and ends in 164 B.C., when Judas Maccabaeus rededicated the Temple.

If the seventh jubilee of the ten covers the period of Antiochus Epiphanes, then the tenth jubilee, which brings Daniel's Seventy Weeks (or ten jubilees) to their culmination, will arrive about one and a half centuries later.

(d) *Greek Testament of Levi 16-18.*

The Greek Testament of Levi is a paraphrase, not a translation, and the fragments of the Aramaic Testament of Levi found at Qumran and in the Cairo Geniza were at one time thought to include nothing corresponding to chapters 16-18 of the Greek. However, there is clearly a close link between the Pseudo-Moses Documents and those chapters, and Milik is in no doubt that the Aramaic Testament contained here something corresponding to what is found in the Greek text.[14] The Pseudo-Ezekiel Document was reported by Milik to be so fragmentary that it was hard to explain, but the Greek Testament of Levi, though obscure, is complete, and is important for that reason.

Milik's interpretation of the Greek Testament of Levi is dictated by his theory that the Aramaic Testament is of Samaritan origin and dates from the late 4th or from the 3rd century B.C. He therefore takes the captivity and the restoration of the Temple in chapter 17, verses 8-10, to refer to the Exile and the return, not to the persecution by Antiochus Epiphanes and the rededication of the Temple by Judas Maccabaeus. Presumably he also takes the lawless priesthood which follows in verse 11 to be the post-exilic Jewish priesthood as a whole, beginning with Jeshua, and the "new priest" of chapter 18 to be the head of the Samaritan priesthood.

A more normal dating would place the Greek Testament of Levi in the 2nd century B.C., and (if the Aramaic Testament was, in substance, as similar to it as Milik believes) the Aramaic Testament also. In that case, the references in ch. 17, vv. 8-10, would be to the persecution by Antiochus Epiphanes and the rededication of the Temple by Judas Maccabaeus; the lawless priesthood which follows in v. 11 would be the high priesthood of Jonathan Maccabaeus (the first of the Hasmonaean high priests) and his

[14] *The Books of Enoch*, p. 252f.

successors, to which the Essenes were opposed; and the new priest of ch. 18 would be priestly Messiah, Melchizedek. Allowing for certain Christian interpolations, in ch. 18 especially, this seems the natural interpretation. It is hard to believe that the Essenes would have taken over documents written to glorify the Mount Gerizim priesthood, which, in their devotion to the past and future Jerusalem Temple,[15] they certainly rejected.

This conclusion is strongly supported by the links which chapters 16-18 of the Testament have with the Melchizedek Document, the Pseudo-Moses Documents and Daniel 9. The last two of these three writings, as we saw, begin their 10 jubilees or 70 year-weeks with the Exile and return, and the first of the writings is also dependent on the third. Moreover, the Pseudo-Moses Documents refer to a culmination of wickedness which is reached "in the 7th jubilee after the desolation of the land", and, since the Essenes tried to be so precise about dates (as we have seen from the Book of Jubilees and the Testament literature itself), this means between the 294th and the 343rd year from the period of the Exile. In conformity with these other works, at the beginning of Testament of Levi 16 Levi says to his sons,

> And now I have learned that for 70 weeks you will go astray and profane the priesthood and pollute the sacrifices (Test. Levi 16:1).

The chapter continues by detailing further the wickedness of the priesthood, and concludes,

> And you will have no place that is clean, but you will be among the Gentiles a curse and a dispersion until he shall again visit you and in pity shall receive you (Test. Levi 16:5).

So once again, as in the Pseudo-Moses Documents, we have 70 year-weeks of priestly wickedness - wickedness which is brought to an end only at the end of the 70 weeks. Presumably, then, we are dealing with a document of similar date, as well as similar character, to the Pseudo-Moses Documents, and probably not written before "the 7th jubilee after the desolation of the land". This is further confirmed by the following chapter of the Testament of Levi, which goes on, like the Pseudo-Moses Documents and the Melchizedek Document, to rearrange the 70 weeks in jubilees:

> And whereas you heard concerning the 70 weeks, hear also concerning the priesthood. For in each jubilee there will be a priesthood (Test. Levi 17:1-2).

The writer is clearly speaking of the same period, rearranged in 10 jubilees, and not of a different period, as his form of language shows. He does not say, "hear also concerning the *jubilees*", but "hear also concerning the *priesthood*" (the jubilees being taken for granted). The fact that he stops

[15] See Jubilees 49:16-21; Damascus Document, CD, 11:17 - 12:2; Temple Scroll, *passim*..

giving details of the priests in the 7th jubilee (verses 6ff.), and then jumps straight on to his account of the messianic priest (occupying chapter 18), does not mean, as Milik supposes,[16] that he divides the whole of history into 7 jubilees, but that with the 7th jubilee he has reached his own time. He now skips the 8th and 9th jubilees, as being of less interest, and proceeds straight to the messianic priest, who, as in the Melchizedek Document, doubtless belongs to the 10th jubilee.

That the messianic priest actually featured in the Aramaic text of the Testament of Levi, as well as in chapter 18 of the Greek text, is made more than a probability by a recently published manuscript. Fragment 9 of 4Q Test. Levi $^{c-d}$, published by Emile Puech,[17] is an Aramaic manuscript dating from about 100 B.C., concerning an eschatological priest who will atone and will give heavenly teaching, but will suffer opposition and abuse. The editor considers that it is either the Aramaic form of chapter 18 or a related text. In view of the date, Christian influence is out of the question, and the suspicion that chapter 18 of the Greek Testament is a Christian interpolation ought now to be abandoned. The sufferings of this coming priest are a particularly striking feature, reminiscent of the suffering servant of Isaiah and of the fact that the Messiah accompanying Melchizedek is to be "cut off" (Dan. 9:26). Whether the sufferings of the Teacher of Righteousness also made a contribution to this expectation, one can only speculate.

The 7 priests of the 7 jubilees, in the preceding chapter 17 of the Greek Testament, are usually given up as unidentifiable. Charles says flatly, 'This chapter is unintelligible'.[18] Milik[19] and Hultgard[20] say much the same. But when one realises that the 1st of this series of jubilees does not begin at the creation, as Milik supposes, but at the same epoch as in the related Pseudo-Moses Documents and Daniel 9, namely, the return from the Exile, one has at least a starting point. It must be the return from the Exile, not the beginning of the Exile, since otherwise the 1st jubilee and its glorious priesthood would belong to a period when the people were in captivity, the Temple in ruin and the priesthood inoperative. A date can also be put to the 7th jubilee (verses 7-11), since it includes the Hellenization of the priesthood ("such pollution before the Lord and men as I cannot express"), the Antiochene persecution ("therefore they will be taken captive and become a prey, and their land and their substance will be destroyed"), the rededication

[16] *The Books of Enoch*, p. 253.

[17] See his contribution "Fragments d'un apocryphe de Lévi et la personnage eschatologique", in *The Madrid Qumran Congress*, ed. J. T. Barrera and L. V. Montaner, vol. 2, pp. 449-501.

[18] R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, vol. 2, p. 313.

[19] *The Books of Enoch*, p. 253.

[20] Anders Hultgard, *L'eschatologie des Testaments des Douze Patriarches*, vol. 1 (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis : Historia Religionum 6, Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1977), p. 107.

of the Temple by Judas Maccabaeus ("they will return to the land of their desolation and will renew the house of the Lord") and the setting up of the Hasmonaean priesthood ("there will be priests who are idolators, adulterers, lovers of money, proud, lawless...").[21] The period between these two epochs was, of course, filled by the high priesthood of Jeshua the son of Jozadak and his descendants, who according to Josephus numbered 15 in all (*Antiquities* 20:10:2, or 20:234), and by the brief pontificate of Alcimus which followed.[22] Their names, as given in the book of Nehemiah or Josephus or both, are these:

1.	*Jeshua*	c. 538 B.C.
2.	*Joiakim*	c. 495 B.C.
3.	*Eliashib*	c. 448 B.C.
4.	Joiada	
5.	Jonathan or Johanan	
6.	*Jaddua*	c. 332 B.C.
7.	Onias I	
8.	*Simon I*	c. 300 B.C.
9.	Eleazer	
10.	*Manasses*	c. 275 B.C.
11.	Onias II	
12.	*Simon II*	c. 200 B.C.
13.	Onias III	
14.	Jeshua-Jason	
15.	Onias-Menelaus	
16.	Alcimus	

Fig. 2: *The Post-Exilic High Priests*

The first 6 of these names would have been known to the author of the Testament of Levi from Nehemiah 12:10-26. Whether he would have known the same traditions and records as Josephus for the remainder of the period is, of course, uncertain, but there was doubtless some common ground. A jubilee is about 2 generations, and as the Testament of Levi selects a single priest for each jubilee, it is natural that many of the 16 are

[21] These four events are closed related, and all presumably occur in the last jubilee named (the 7th), to which the first of the four events is explicitly assigned, while the third and fourth are ascribed to later weeks of that jubilee. As will be seen below (pp. 233-234), this presumption is confirmed by chronological information in the Damascus Document.

[22] For the possibility that Josephus's list should be extended by further hereditary and repeated names, see F. M. Cross Jr., "A Reconstruction of the Judean Restoration", in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, vol. 94 (1975), pp. 4-18.

passed over. The 7 it selects could be those italicised and dated in the list above.

Of the 1st priest in Testament of Levi 17, we are told that

> In the day of his gladness he will rise up for the salvation of the world (Test. Levi 17:2).

This may be a combination of Ezra 3:2

> Then *rose up* Jeshua the son of Jozadak... and built the altar of the God of Israel

with the meaning of Jeshua's name, "the Lord *saves*". Of the 2nd priest we are told that he will

> be conceived in the mourning of beloved ones (Test. Levi 17:3).

This may perhaps be Joiakim, whose name means "the Lord will raise up" (*sc.* a son), hence "conceived"(though the Aramaic perhaps meant raised up to the office of high priest); while "the mourning of beloved ones" would refer to his son and other relatives who were involved in the intermarriage with the people of the land, and therefore had to repent and put away such foreign wives (Ezra 10:18f; Neh. 13:4-9, 28-30). The Essenes were strongly opposed to intermarriage with Gentiles (see especially Jubilees 30:7-17), and the Testament of Levi itself emphasises the prohibition (Test. Levi 9:10; 14:6). The 3rd priest, we are told, will

> be taken hold of by sorrow (Test. Levi 17:4),

and this may be one of the "beloved ones" themselves, involved in the transgression, very likely Eliashib, whose name means "God will restore" (*sc.* the penitent), and who did in fact take an honourable part afterwards in the rebuilding of Jerusalem (Neh. 3:1). The 4th priest, we read,

> will be in pain, because unrighteousness will add to him exceedingly, and all Israel will hate each one his neighbour (Test. Levi 17:5).

This may be the pious Jaddua, whose brother Manasses returned to the error of his ancestors by marrying a Samaritan, and in whose time there was a great division among the priests and people, many of them following Manasses's example, and joining him at the new temple built for him by his father-in-law Sanballat on Mount Gerizim (Josephus, *Antiquities* 11:7:2, or 11:302f; 11:8:2-4, or 11:306-324). That the Essenes regarded Jaddua with favour is probably indicated by their use of his name in the Book of Jaddua, found with other Essene manuscripts in a cave near Jericho about A.D. 800 and known to the Karaite writer Kirkisani. The 5th, 6th and 7th priests are classed together:

> The 5th shall be taken hold of by darkness, likewise also the 6th and the 7th (Test. Levi 17:6f.).

These priests, belonging to the last 3 jubilees before the author's time (i.e. the previous century and a half), are clearly men of whom he disapproved; and, since he often seems to allude to the meaning of the priests' names, the grouping of 3 together in this summary way could mean that they had the same name, or names of similar meaning. There are 3 Onias's in the list, at the appropriate period, but Onias is not a name that bears any relationship to darkness, and there is good reason to think that the Essenes approved of Onias III, who is classed in 1 Enoch 90:6-8 as one of the enlightened "lambs" of the proto-Essene movement. There are also 2 Simon's in the list, at about the same period, to the 2nd of whom the Pharisees looked back, as a predecessor of theirs (Mishnah Aboth I:2f.); he was greatly admired, moreover, by Ben Sira (Sir. 50), and may, like Ben Sira (Sir. 43: 6f; 50:6 Heb.), have been an adherent of the lunar calendar. He would therefore have been a likely target for the criticism of the Essenes.[23] Now, when in the Old Testament something is darkened, it is the light of the sun or the other heavenly bodies to which this happens (Eccles. 12:2; Isa. 13:10; Joel 2:10,31; 3:15, etc.). Ben Sira compares Simon to the sun, the moon and the morning star (Sir. 50:5-7), and it seems possible that, when the Testament of Levi speaks of the high priest being "taken hold of by darkness", he is making a pun upon the Aramaic word *shimsha'* (sun) and the Hebrew name *shim'on* (Simon). (Such a use of Hebrew etymologies in an Aramaic work is paralleled in 1 Enoch 6:6; 10:4-7; 20:3). Midway between the two Simon's comes Manasses, whose name means "causing to forget", and this again fits the theme of darkness - doubly so, as it was also the name of the first high priest of Mount Gerizim and of the wickedest of the kings of Judah. Whether the writer had any better reason than their names and their degenerate period for classing Manasses and the first Simon with the second is a question impossible to answer.

Passing on to chapter 18 and the messianic priest, his name also is probably discernible. Although he is represented as a human rather than an angelic figure, his name appears already to be Melchizedek, doubtless under the influence of Psalm 110:4. This is indicated by verses 2, 3 of the chapter.

> And he will execute judgement of truth (=צדק, justice, truth) upon the earth for a multitude of days, and his star will arise in heaven as a king =מלך, king).

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[23] Ben Sira is actually speaking of Simon in Sir. 50:6, one of the passages where he reveals his own adherence to the lunar calendar. It is curious, in the circumstances, that Ecclesiasticus has been found at Qumran; but, as a proto-Pharisaic, not an actual Pharisaic, work, the Essenes may have viewed it more leniently, and especially in view of what the Hebrew text says about their hero Enoch (see p. 218).

As one would expect at the end of the 10 jubilees of wickedness, his priesthood brings sin to an end:

> In his priesthood all sin will come to an end, and the lawless will cease from evil deeds (verse 9).

Now, we have seen (from the Damascus Document) that the Essenes expected the priestly and lay Messiahs at the end of the Era of Wickedness, and more specifically (from the Melchizedek Document) that they expected them in the 10th and last jubilee of that period. The Melchizedek Document states that God "will cast the lot" of his servants "among the portions of Melchizedek" (which sounds like a heavenly event) in the 1st year-week of the 10th jubilee, and that they "will be atoned for" at "the end of the 10th jubilee" (i.e. in its 7th and last year-week, as Dan. 9:24-27 indicates). That the Essenes did not expect Melchizedek's visible appearance before the last year-week is not absolutely certain, but since the lay Messiah does not appear earlier, and both Messiahs were expected together, they probably did not. Even if there was to be some small interval between them, as 1 Enoch 90:37f. suggests, it would be limited by the year-week to 7 years. Now, Testament of Levi 17:10f., speaking of the 7th of the 10 jubilees, says,

> In the 5th week they will return to the land of their desolation and will renew the house of the Lord. And in the 7th week there will be priests who are idolaters, adulterers, lovers of money, proud, lawless, licentious, corrupters of boys and corrupters of beasts.

The rededication of the Temple by Judas Maccabaeus (after his return from the wilderness) took place in 164 B.C., and the assumption of the high priesthood by Jonathan Maccabaeus, the first of the Hasmonaean high priests (here, one is bold to say, so appallingly slandered), took place in 152 B.C. This fixes the dates of the 7th jubilee within narrow limits. If 164 B.C. was in the last year of the 5th week, then the 7th jubilee began in 199 B.C. and ended in 150 B.C. If, on the other hand, 152 B.C. was in the 1st year of the 7th week, then the 7th jubilee began in 195 B.C. and ended in 146 B.C. If, however, the 7th jubilee began between 199 and 195 B.C. and ended between 150 and 146 B.C., the 10th jubilee would begin between 52 and 48 B.C. and would end between 3 B.C. and A.D. 2. Moreover, the 7th week of the 10th jubilee, when the Messiahs were to be manifested, would begin between 10 and 6 B.C., and would end between 3 B.C. and A.D. 2. This is a conclusion of importance for the study of the New Testament, since it gives a reason why Messianic expectation was strong at the time of Jesus's birth.[24]

[24] It has recently been questioned whether this expectation was, in fact, prevalent in first century Palestine, mainly on the grounds that many writings of the period do not refer to it (so J. H. Charlesworth, in *Judaisms and their Messiahs at the Turn of the Christian Era*, ed. Jacob Neusner *et al*, Cambridge: The University Press, 1987, pp. 249-251). Of course, contemporary

It also gives added significance to Jesus's teaching about the New Temple (John 2:19-22, etc.), since the Essenes seem, not surprisingly, to have expected the New Temple and the priestly Messiah together (1 Enoch 90:28-38),[25] and it increases the probability that, when Christianity arose, many Essenes put their faith in Jesus and joined the Christian church.

It is not possible to dismiss these figures as a Christian revision of the Testament of Levi. Any Christian writer, even if he could have fixed the events of 164 and 152 B.C. with such accuracy, would have said explicitly that the Messianic high priest was coming in the 10th jubilee, and would probably have mentioned the 8th and 9th jubilees also, since these were now past. Moreover, as we have seen on pp. 225-226, the seventh jubilee and its events are also found in the Pseudo-Moses Documents, and it is possible to confirm the figures from other Essene calculations. We saw earlier (p. 177) that Enoch's prophecy of Israel's blindness under the 70 angelic shepherds (1 Enoch 89-90) dates the rise of the Essenes at the same time as the rise of Judas Maccabaeus:

> I saw till there sprouted a great horn on one of those sheep, and their eyes were opened. And it looked at them and their eyes opened (1 Enoch 90:9-10).

The prophecy recognises a proto-Essene movement ("they began to open their eyes and to see"), in which Onias III shared, covering the reigns of the last 12 shepherds, i.e. from about 251 B.C. onwards (1 Enoch 90:5-17), but the real enlightening comes at the time of Judas. Now, in the Damascus Document, the prophecy of Ezek. 4:5, 9 is interpreted as meaning that the rise of the Essene movement is to take place 390 years after the beginning of the Exile:

> And in the age of wrath, 390 years after God had given Israel into the hand of King Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon, he visited them and caused a root of cultivation to spring from Israel and Aaron to inherit his land and to prosper on the good things of its soil. And they perceived their iniquity and recognised that they were guilty men... (Damascus Doc, CD, 1:5-9)

The passage goes on to speak of the Teacher of Righteousness, which puts it beyond doubt that the Essenes are meant.[26] If one subtracts from 390 years

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Jewish writers had other religious concerns as well. But the popular expectation is very evident in the background of the Gospels (Matt. 9:27; 12:23; 15:22; 21:15; Mark 10:47f; Luke 3:15; John 1:19f; 7:26, 41; 9:22).

[25] "House" in this part of *1 Enoch* properly means Jerusalem, the Temple being its "tower", but the New Jerusalem no doubt includes the New Temple.

[26] We know from the Qumran Pesharim (or biblical commentaries) that it was characteristic of the Essenes to interpret Old Testament prophecies as fulfilled in themselves. By interpreting the prophecy of the 390 years in this way, they set the beginning of the Exile 30 or 40 years too late, though this was relatively accurate after such a lapse of time, and very

the 70 years of the Exile, and then begins to count the years of the 10 jubilees, one finds that the remaining 320 years bring one to the 5th year of the 4th week of the 7th jubilee. Now, we know from the Testament of Levi that the rededication of the Temple took place in the 5th week of this jubilee, and the assumption of the high priesthood by Jonathan Maccabaeus in the 7th week of this jubilee. As these latter events were 12 years apart (in 164 and 152 B.C. respectively), the rededication cannot have been earlier than the 3rd year of the 5th week, or the assumption of the high priesthood by Jonathan later than the 5th year of the 7th week. But, though the rededication of the Temple was in 164 B.C., the rise of Judas Maccabaeus (which, in 1 Enoch 90:9-10, might rather be in mind) was at the death of his father Mattathias in 167-166 B.C. If, then, 164 B.C. was in the 3rd year of the 5th week, 167 B.C. was in the 7th year of the 4th week, and within 2 years of the date of the rise of the Essenes. Even if 164 B.C. was in the 7th year of the 5th week (the latest it can have been), the rise of the Essenes can have preceded the rise of Judas Maccabaeus by only 6 years. It seems, therefore, that they became a distinct and organized party between 173 and 169 B.C., doubtless in reaction to the Hellenizing movement among the Jews begun by the high priest Jeshua-Jason in 175 B.C. (2 Maccabees 4:7-20; cp. also 1 Macc. 1:10-15), and especially, perhaps, to the murder of the Essene-sympathiser Onias III by the Hellenist Menelaus about 171 B.C. (2 Macc. 4:31-38).

The exactness of this synchronization confirms the Essene origin of the figures in Testament of Levi 17. It also confirms that the 10 jubilees start from the end of the Exile, not from the beginning of the Exile.

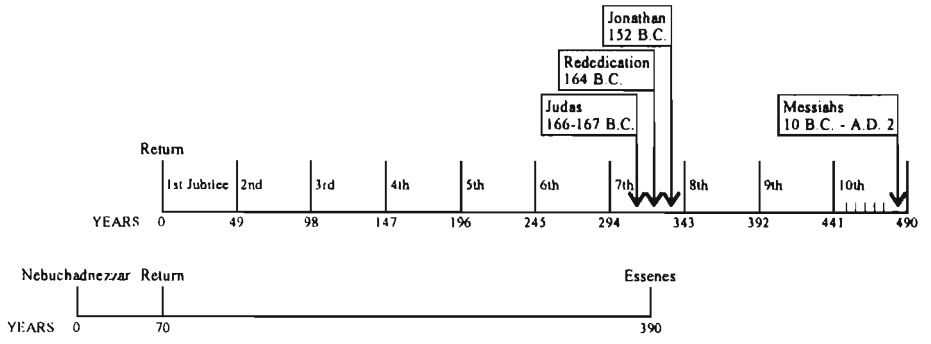

Fig 3: *The Ten Jubilees of the Testament of Levi etc.*

close to the date calculated by the Hellenistic Jewish historian Demetrius in the late third century B.C. (see p. 264)

2. *THE ECCENTRIC DECADE OF JUBILEES (1 Enoch 89-90)*

1 Enoch 89-90 stands apart from the other texts dealing with the period of 70 weeks or 10 jubilees. For one thing, the passage does not speak explicitly either of weeks or of jubilees, but of the successive reigns of 70 angelic "shepherds" (1 En. 89:59; 90:22, 25). For another thing, though the period in question is characterised by Israel's blindness (1 En. 89:54, 74; 90:6f, 9f, 26), and it overlaps with the 70 weeks of wickedness which we have been studying, it both begins earlier and ends earlier. It ends, as we have seen, not with the coming of the Messiahs (which is put an indeterminate period later, 1 En. 90:37f) but with the rise of the Essenes and of Judas Maccabaeus (1 En. 90:9-17). It therefore ends with the end of blindness and the end of Gentile rule over the Jews. It begins during the monarchy (not simply at the destruction of Jerusalem, as Charles supposes).[27] This is very clear from 1 En. 89:50-67, where the building of Solomon's Temple in verse 50 is followed by the ministry of Elijah in verse 52, by the blinding of the people in verse 54 and by God's judgement on them and their delivery into the power of their Gentile enemies under the 70 angelic shepherds in verses 55-64. There is then a period of rule by the shepherds before the destruction of Jerusalem (verses 65-67). This interpretation is further confirmed by Enoch's prophecy of the 10 Weeks, where blindness befalls the Jews during the monarchy (1 En. 93:7f.).

In calling 1 Enoch 89-90 "eccentric", we do not mean that it conflicts with the other literature before us. It does not. It belongs to a section of 1 Enoch cherished at Qumran, along with the rest of the literature, and acknowledged in the Book of Jubilees (Jub. 4:19). It is consistent with the rest of the literature, which it can often be used to illustrate. It stands apart, however, in that the decade of jubilees with which it apparently deals is not called such, and is an isolated decade, not in the same series, but overlapping with decades in the series. In these respects, and in these alone, it is eccentric. There has been a preliminary discussion of it, as regards the proto-Essene movement, on pp. 176-177.

In its context in the Book of Dreams, the prophecy of the 70 angel-reigns is part of the second dream-vision, which occupies the whole of chapters 85-90 of 1 Enoch, and relates, under symbols (often of animals), the history of the world from Creation to the coming of the Messiahs. During the history there are repeated periods of enlightenment followed by blindness. The enlightenment at Mount Sinai is quickly followed by blindness (1 En. 89:28, 32f.), the same happens several times under the Judges (1 En. 89:41), and the enlightenment in the time of Samuel is followed by blindness at a point during the monarchy (1 En. 89:41, 44, 54). This last period of blindness

[27] *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 2, p. 256.

extends through the cruel reigns of the 70 angelic shepherds. Wickedness of course exists outside these periods as well, but these seem to be viewed as the darkest periods of history.

That the 70 reigns correspond to a term of years is made likely by the Essenes' great interest in chronology, and the number 70 strongly suggests the much-favoured period of 70 weeks (or 10 jubilees), though in the disguised language of the prophecy these weeks are simply called "times" or "hours". A period of 70 weeks or 10 jubilees turns out to fit the details of the prophecy well, and is in all probability what the author intends his readers to understand.

To decide the exact point during the monarchy that the 70 angel-reigns begin is facilitated by Damascus Document 1:5-9 (quoted earlier), which places the delivery of Israel into the hands of Nebuchadnezzar 390 years before the rise of the Essenes. Though the real period was at least 420 years, 390 was the figure with which the Essenes worked. Consequently, 70 weeks of years, or 490 years, would not be an unrealistic period for the 70 angel-reigns, which would accordingly begin 100 years before the Exile.

The angelic shepherds are probably derived from the "wicked shepherd" prophecies of Isa. 56:11f; Jer. 23:1f; 25:34-36; 50:6; Ezek. 34:1-10; Zech. 10:3; 11:3-17. The shepherds are understood by the Essene author as the guardian-angels of the nations of the world (corresponding to the "princes" of the nations in Dan. 10:13,20f; 12:1; cp. Deut. 32:8 LXX), and they are 70 in number because the nations of the world are 70 in number in Genesis 10. Since the end of their 70 reigns is the end of Gentile rule over Israel, it seems probable that the beginning of their 70 reigns is the beginning of Gentile rule over Israel, and Milik therefore reasonably places the commencement of the period at the destruction of the Northern Kingdom by the Assyrians.[28] This, however, happened considerably more than 100 years before the Exile: according to the figures in Kings and Chronicles, taken at their face value, it happened 134 years before the Exile. There were, it is true, 3 deportations of Jews by Nebuchadnezzar, the 1st of them in the 4th year of King Jehoiakim, 18 years before the last, but even if the Essenes had dated the Exile from the 1st deportation, it would still have been 116 years after the destruction of the Northern Kingdom, not 100. Moreover, we are probably intended to infer that the beginning and end of the angel-reigns are also the beginning, as well as the end, of blindness, and it is not natural to place the beginning of the nation's blindness at the destruction of the Northern Kingdom, which took place in the 5th or 6th year of the reign of the good king Hezekiah. It would be much more natural to place it at the start of the reign of his successor Manasseh, whose name (as with his later

[28] *The Books of Enoch*, p. 254.

namesake, the high priest Manasseh) means "causing to forget", and who was the greatest law-breaker among the kings of Judah, the Exile itself being a judgement on his sins (2 Kgs. 23:26; 24:3; Jer. 15:4).

According to the figures in Kings and Chronicles, Manasseh ascended the throne 110½ years before the Exile, that is, before the final deportation, but only 99½ years before the 2nd deportation, at the end of the reign of Jehoiachin. This is within 6 months of the 100 years that we need. It appears likely, therefore, that the Essenes dated the 70 years of the Exile from the 2nd deportation, and that they conceived the 70 angels of the Gentile nations as taking office at the beginning of Manasseh's wicked reign, after which it was a foregone conclusion that Judah, like Israel, would soon have visible Gentile rulers.

The detailed break-down of the 70 angel-reigns, provided by 1 Enoch 89:72; 90:1, 5, 17, must have suffered some textual corruption (as is universally acknowledged), since the figures do not add up to 70, thrice stated to be the total (1 En. 89:59; 90:22, 25). Unfortunately, the Aramaic fragments of Enoch from Qumran give no help, since they do not cover the relevant verses, so one is thrown back upon conjecture. The "12 hours" before the return from the Exile in 1 En. 89:72 are too few, and probably originally read "12 hours and 12 hours", which a scribe or translator later altered, supposing it to be dittography. Each hour being the equivalent of a year-week, 12+12 hours would give just the right period of 168 years (the nearest one can get in year-weeks to 170) from the accession of Manasseh to the return from the Exile. Even before this verse was corrupted, possibly, the running-total of 35 in 1 En. 90:1 was corrupted to 37. The change here may have been due to someone observing that the 70 reigns began with 2 groups of 12 and ended with a group of 12 (1 En. 90:17), and inferring from this that what he was really dealing with was a series of 12's, so that the total 70 was a round number for 72 (6 x 12). If so, it was by an oversight that he did not also change the running-total of 58 in 1 En. 90:5, after a further 23 reigns, to 60 (37 + 23). Assuming that this is what happened, the original break-down was of 24 year-weeks from the accession of Manasseh to the return from the Exile (1 En. 89:72); a further 11 year-weeks, totalling 35, to a date 77 years after the return (1 En. 90:1); a further 23 year-weeks, totalling 58, to the beginning of the proto-Essene movement (1 En. 90:5f.); and the remaining 12 year-weeks to the rise of the Essenes and of Judas Maccabaeus (1 En. 90:9-17). We saw above (pp. 233-234) that the rise of the Essenes and of Judas Maccabaeus cannot have been more than 6 years apart, and this is confirmed by the present text, which, had they been 7 years apart, would have assigned them to different year-weeks. The date 77 years after the return from the Exile would fall in the middle of the 2nd jubilee of the Era of Wickedness, when, according to our foregoing interpretation of

Testament of Levi 17, Joiakim was high priest and the intermarriage with the people of the land began.

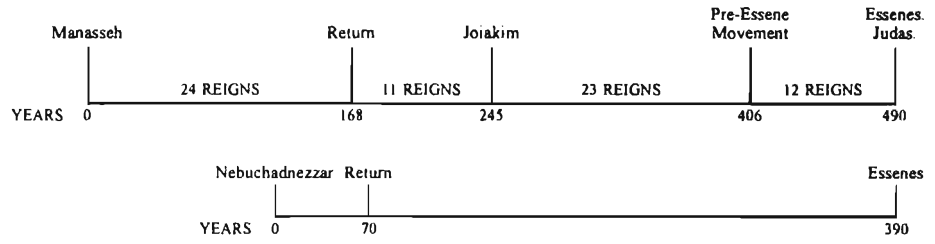

Fig. 4: *The Seventy Shepherd-Reigns of Enoch*

3. *THE JUBILEE OF JUBILEES*

Since the Essene jubilee was of 49 years, a jubilee of jubilees would be 49 x 49 years, or 2401 years. The Book of Jubilees, which clearly shares the belief found in the other writings which we have been examining, that significant events happen at significant epochs, ends its narrative with the entry of the Israelites into the promised land just after the completion of the first jubilee of jubilees. This, no doubt, is deliberate.

The date of the entry is fixed at Anno Mundi 2450, the concluding year of the 50th jubilee (Jub. 50:4). However, when one looks in chapter 48 of the Book of Jubilees to see what happened in A.M. 2401, the year when the 49th jubilee concluded, and thus the precise year when the jubilee of jubilees ended, one is surprised to find that nothing of comparable significance happened then. Nor (as one finds in chapter 47) did anything striking happen in the 1st year of the 49th jubilee (A.M. 2352). The 49th jubilee covers the middle part of the life of Moses, but that is all. The explanation seems to be that the jubilee of jubilee has been rounded up from 2401 years to 2450. Just as the year is rounded up from 360 days (12 months of 30 days) to 364 days, in order to make it divisible into 7-day weeks, so the jubilee of jubilees is rounded up from 2401 years to 2450 years, in order to make it divisible into decades of jubilees. The jubilee of jubilees thus becomes in practice 50 jubilees not 49, because 50 is divisible by 10 and 49 is not.[29]

[29] This is another phenomenon from what we find in The Ages of the Creation, where Eber is born just after the conclusion of the 30th jubilee, and Isaac just after the conclusion of the 40th, but certainly not a full or exact jubilee later. A different explanation why the jubilee of jubilees is 50 jubilees not 49 is given by Wiesenberg in the article cited in note 1. It is based, however, on the mistaken belief that the Essene jubilee year was the 50th year.

After giving the date of the entry into the promised land, the Book of Jubilees continues,

> And the jubilees will pass by, until Israel is cleansed from all guilt of fornication and uncleanness and pollution and sin and error, and dwells with confidence in all the land, and there will no more be a Satan or any evil one, and the land will be clean from that time for evermore (Jub. 50:5, Charles's translation).

It is not stated how many jubilees this will take, but since the previous history has occupied a jubilee of jubilees (rounded up to 50 jubilees), it seems likely that the remainder of history will occupy another jubilee of jubilees (similarly rounded up) or perhaps more than one. A 2nd jubilee of jubilees brings one to the end of the 100th jubilee, and the year A.M. 4900. But we saw, when studying The Ages of the Creation, that this work probably extended to 10 decades of jubilees, that is, to 100 jubilees, and fixed the end of the world in A.M. 4900. So the evidence of the Book of Jubilees tends to confirm our earlier tentative conclusion.

To translate A.M. 4900 into modern chronology is a straightforward task. The return from the Exile took place in A.M. 3430, and the following decade of jubilees ended in A.M. 3920 (see Figure 1 on p. 223). That decade of jubilees, as we also know, ended between 3 B.C. and A.D. 2 (see p. 232). So, if A.M. 3920 = 3 B.C. - A.D. 2, then A.M. 4900 = A.D. 978-982 (or, allowing for the fact that the Essene year was 1¼ days shorter than the true solar year, A.D. 974-978). This is a date considerably earlier than that current among the Pharisees (A.M. 6000, or A.D. 2240),[30] and a good deal

[30] According to an early baraita quoted in Bab. Sanhedrin 97a-97b and Bab. Abodah Zarah 9a, the world is to exist for 6000 years, and since the rabbinic chronicle Seder Olam Rabbah equates A.M. 3828 with A.D. 68 (the destruction of the Second Temple), A.M. 6000 is A.D. 2240. The Pharisaic dates for the coming of the Messiah are also later than the Essene (A.M. 4000, or A.D. 240, in this baraita, and shortly after A.M. 4231, or A.D. 471, in a baraita quoted in Bab. Abodah Zarah 9b), but what chiefly makes the difference is that the baraitas envisage 2000 years between the coming of the Messiah and the end of the world, not 2 decades of jubilees (980 years). That the figures of rabbinic chronology and eschatology (or very similar figures) are not of late origin is shown by Assumption of Moses 10:12; 2 Esdras (4 Ezra) 14:10-12; and *Biblical Antiquities* of Pseudo-Philo 19:15; 28:8. The first passage says that God will appear, to deliver Israel and judge her enemies, 250 times (i.e. year-weeks) after the death of Moses. As Seder Olam Rabbah dates the death of Moses in A.M. 2488, 250 year-weeks later is A.M. 4238, only 7 years after the date when the Messiah is imminent according to the latter of the above baraitas. The second passage says that, at the time of the writing of 2 Esdras (supposedly 30 years after the destruction of the First Temple, 2 Esd. 3:1), 9½ twelfths have elapsed of the period from the beginning to the end of the world. As, according to Seder Olam Rabbah, 30 years after the destruction of the First Temple is A.M. 3368, the 12 twelfths expire in A.M. 4254, only 23 years after the date when the Messiah is imminent according to the same baraita. The passages from the *Biblical Antiquities* are rather less precise, but probably reflect the same system of computation. They state that men are to dwell on the earth 4000 years (i.e. until the coming of the Messiah, which according to the other baraita will occur in A.M. 4000), and that 4½ sevenths of this period had elapsed by the death of Moses,

earlier than that current among the early Fathers (A.M. 7000, or about A.D. 1500);[31] but just as the Essene date for the coming of the Messiah is similar to the Christian, so the Essene conception of 2 decades of jubilees (980 years) between the coming of the Messiah(s) and the end of the world is similar to the early Christian conception of a peaceful Millennium after the Messiah's second coming: it is the 500 years between the Messiah's comings, in Christian thinking, that makes the difference.

4. *The Century of Jubilees or Jubilee of Centuries*

10 decades of jubilees, or 100 jubilees, were also 1 jubilee of centuries, or 49 centuries (for 10 x 10 x 7 x 7 years = 7 x 7 x 10 x 10 years). Consequently, the period of 4,900 years, like the periods of 70 years (7 x 10 years) and of 490 years (7 x 7 x 10 years), was one in which two sacred numbers met. This would also happen in still greater periods, such as 7,000 years (7 x 10 x 10 x 10 years), but such periods apparently exceeded the Essene estimate of the whole history of the world. To such periods applied what is said in 1 Enoch 91:17,

> And after that there will be many weeks without number forever,

but for normal purposes they could be ignored. The only event apparently assigned to them was the final judgement of a group of fallen angels, 10,000 years after their fall (1 Enoch 18:16; 21:6ff). This number, like the number of 11,536 years in the early chronological text 4 Q 559 (see note 4), may indeed date from before an overall length for world history had been worked out.

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which implies a date for his death of about A.M. 2572. Assumption of Moses 1:1 actually gives the date of Moses's death: A.M. 2500. This may either be a round figure for A.M. 2488, the date in Seder Olam Rabbah, or (as Wiesenberg thinks, *art. cit.*) another way of expressing the belief of Jubilees that Moses died at the end of the 50th jubilee. If the latter, it is a *Pharisaic* way of expressing that belief (see p. 250). The pseudo-Messiahs of the Zealot and Bar Kokba revolts in the latter part of the 1st and former part of the 2nd centuries A.D. do not fit in either with the Pharisaic or with the Essene date(s) for the coming of the Messiah, and must represent divergent opinions. Hence, no doubt, the rebuke given by Rabbi Johanan ben Torta to Rabbi Akiba when the latter saluted Bar Kokba as the Messiah: "Akiba, grass will have grown between your jaws before the Son of David appears" (Jer. Taanith 4:6).

[31] Hippolytus, *Commentary on Daniel* 4:23f.; Lactantius, *Divine Institutes* 7:24f. The greater number of years A.M., as compared with the Pharisaic (and also with the Essene) computation, is mainly due to following the larger figures of the Septuagint in Genesis 5 and 11. Other early patristic writings which date Christ's return and the beginning of the Millennium in A.M. 6000 (but without giving the equivalent in contemporary chronology) are Epistle of Barnabas 15 and Irenaeus, *Against Heresies* 5:28:3; 5:30:4; 5:33:2ff. Older chronological schemes based on the Septuagint, which to some extent anticipate patristic chronology, are those of the Hellenistic Jewish historians Demetrius and Eupolemus (see pp. 254-256). Also, Josephus's figures owe a great deal to the Septuagint.

When studying The Ages of the Creation, we found that the events which concluded the first 7 decades of jubilees could be identified, and that the 8th decade of jubilees, beginning at the return from the Exile, might be the Era of Wickedness. Our subsequent studies of the Melchizedek Document, the Pseudo-Moses Documents and the Testament of Levi, and their relationship to Daniel 9, confirmed that the 490 years beginning at the return probably was the Era of Wickedness, and that it certainly was expected to conclude with the coming of the priestly and lay Messiahs, which (as we know from 1 Enoch 90:28-38) was to be immediately preceded by the erection of the New Temple. What eschatological events the Essenes expected after the erection of the New Temple is shown by 1 Enoch 91:13-17. There was first to be a world-wide conversion of the Gentiles,[32] and then, after an interval, the final Judgement and the New Creation. Tentatively, therefore, one may infer that the event concluding the 9th decade of jubilees was the complete conversion of mankind, and the events concluding the 10th decade of jubilees were the final Judgement and the New Creation.

Since the century of jubilees was also a jubilee of centuries, one might expect that, just as a great event was looked for at the end of every decade of jubilees (10 jubilees out of the 100), the same would be looked for at the end of every week of centuries (7 centuries out of the 49). In fact, history did not adapt itself so easily, and the farthest that the Essenes were able to proceed in this direction was what we find in Enoch's prophecy of the 10 Weeks (1 Enoch 93:1-10; 91:11-17), to be considered next.

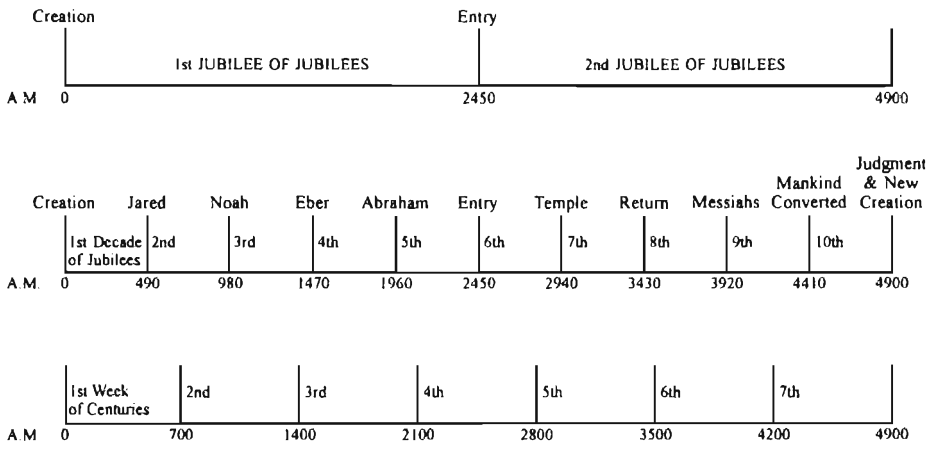
Creation
Entry
1st JUBILEE OF JUBILEES
2nd JUBILEE OF JUBILEES
A.M. 0 2450 4900
Creation Jared Noah Eber Abraham Entry Temple Return Messiahs Mankind Converted Judgment & New Creation
1st Decade of Jubilees 2nd 3rd 4th 5th 6th 7th 8th 9th 10th
A.M. 0 490 980 1470 1960 2450 2940 3430 3920 4410 4900
1st Week of Centuries 2nd 3rd 4th 5th 6th 7th
A.M. 0 700 1400 2100 2800 3500 4200 4900

Fig. 5: *The Jubilee of Jubilees, the Century of Jubilees, and the Jubilee of Centuries*

[32] That this is the main theme of verse 14 is clear in the Aramaic, though obscure in the Ethiopic (especially after Charles's rearrangement of the clauses). See J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, pp. 265-69.

5. *The Great Weeks*

Enoch's prophecy of the 10 Weeks has probably aroused more discussion and perplexity than any other Essene apocalypse. This is partly because of the dislocation of the text in the Ethiopic translation, which until recently was the only text of the prophecy surviving, but mainly for reasons of content. The dislocation of the text has now been happily resolved by the fragments of the Aramaic original from Qumran, which confirm the reasonable conjecture that the account of the 8th, 9th and 10 weeks in 1 Enoch 91 originally followed the account of weeks 1-7 in 1 En. 93. It turns out that the conclusion of week 7 is also in ch. 91 (verse 11), so that the original sequence is 1 En. 93: 1-10; 91: 11-17.[33] The Aramaic fragments do not cover all the weeks, unfortunately, weeks 3-6 being wholly missing, but they clarify points of interpretation in the remaining weeks; and even for week 5 there is a Qumran fragment of a related work which confirms that the "house" is not Jerusalem (as might be conjectured from the opening words of Week 6) but Solomon's Temple.[34]

The date of composition of the prophecy depends to some extent on whether its present context is its original one. The part of 1 Enoch in which it occurs (book 5, i.e. chapters 91-107) is not included in the survey of Enoch's writings given in the Book of Jubilees (Jub. 4:17-22), and the earliest Qumran MS of it dates from the mid 1st century B.C. Milik therefore infers that it was written about 100 B.C.[35] It has often been supposed, however, that the prophecy of the 10 Weeks was written earlier, and simply incorporated by the author of book 5, or else that the complete book is earlier; and the wholly favourable description the prophecy gives of the 8th week, in the middle of which 100 B.C. must have fallen, rather favours such a supposition.[36] Nevertheless, it was presumably written after the Book of Jubilees, since it is not referred to in Jub. 4:17-22; and it would not have been devised or incorporated by the author of book 5 if it had conflicted with Jubilees or with the other chronological and eschatological texts which had become standard among the Essenes. Indeed, it is only with the help of these texts that it can be interpreted, or probably could ever have been interpreted, as we shall see.

The prophecy covers the whole history of the world, which it divides into 10 periods. In this respect it is like The Ages of the Creation. However, it

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[33] See Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, pp. 263-69.

[34] See Milik, *op. cit.*, p. 256. Cp. also 1 En. 89:36 and the Aramaic text of 1 En. 91:13 (*op. cit.*, p. 266).

[35] *Op. cit.*, p. 48f.

[36] F. García Martínez argues from internal evidence that the transition from past to future is the transition from week 7 to week 8. The text was therefore written in the mid-second century B.C. (*Qumran and Apocalyptic*, Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 9, Leiden: Brill, 1992, pp. 79-96).

does not call each of the periods "10 jubilees" but "a week", and it does not assign the same events to its weeks as are assigned in the other work to the decades of jubilees. What, then, does it mean by "a week"? This is the greatest problem which the prophecy presents.

The events of the 10 weeks are as follows:

(i) Enoch "was born... in the 1st week" (1 En. 93:3).

(ii) "In the 2nd week... the first end" (the Flood) is to come as a punishment on "lying and violence", and "a man" (Noah) is to "be saved". More "unrighteousness" and a "law" are to follow (1 En. 93:4).

(iii) A man is to be "chosen as the plant of righteous judgement" at the "close" of the 3rd week (1 En. 93:5).

(iv) "A law for all generations" is to be revealed and "an enclosure" (the Tabernacle, or the promised land ?) made at the "close" of the 4th week (1 En. 93:6).

(v) "The house of glory and dominion" is to be "built for ever" at the "close" of the 5th week (1 En. 93:7).

(vi) "All who live in" the house are to "be blinded" in the 6th week; "a man will ascend" (Elijah); at the "close" of the week "the house of dominion will be burned with fire and the whole race of the chosen root will be dispersed" (1 En. 93:8).

(vii) "An apostate generation will arise" in the 7th week; at the "close" of the week "the elect will be chosen, for witnesses to righteousness, from the eternal plant of righteousness, and to them will be given sevenfold wisdom and knowledge". They will "root out... violence and... lying" (1 En. 93:9f; 91:11).

(viii) The 8th week will be "the Week of Righteousness, in which a sword will be given to all the righteous to exact a righteous judgement from all the wicked"; at its "close... will be built the royal Temple of the Great One in his glorious splendour for all generations for ever" (1 En. 91:12f.).

(ix) In the 9th week "righteousness and right judgement will be revealed for all the children of the whole earth, and all the workers of impiety will entirely pass away from the whole earth, and they will be cast into the eternal Pit, and all men will see the right, eternal way" (1 En. 91:14).

(x) In the 10th week, in "the 7th part" of it, "an eternal judgement and the fixed time of the Great Judgement will be executed in vengeance in the midst of the holy ones; and in it the first heaven will pass away and a new heaven will appear" (1 En. 91:15f.).

It will be noted that at least one significant event happens in each of these weeks, but that in 4 of them (the 6th, 7th, 8th and 10th) several significant

events happen; also that in 7 of the weeks (the 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th and 10th) a significant event happens at its "close" or in its "7th part", but not in the other 3. This suggests that the weeks are not of indefinite or arbitrary length, as is sometimes supposed:[37] otherwise one would expect there to be a single significant event to each week, and would also expect the week always to close as soon as the event had occurred, not just sometimes. Such a conclusion is confirmed by the evidence of the other texts we have examined, which show that the Essenes tried to be precise about the measurement of time, and expected important events to happen at regular intervals which could be calculated by multiplying the sacred numbers 7 and 10 with each other or with themselves. The term "week" itself implies the number 7, but the question is, 7 of what? The weeks are clearly not weeks of days or weeks of years, which would be much too short, but, if not, of what do the weeks consist?

A comprehensive survey of the various suggestions which have been made on this point is provided by Ferdinand Dexinger in his *Henochs Zehnwochenapokalypse* (Studia Post-Biblica 29, Leiden: Brill, 1977, pp. 117-144). The two most important are that the 10 weeks are weeks of generations and that they are weeks of centuries. The latter suggestion, as we shall see, contains an element of truth, but the former appears to be a complete misunderstanding. It is based on the statement

> "I Enoch was born the 7th in the 1st week" (I En. 93:3).

The generations from Adam to Enoch are indeed 7 (Gen. 5:1-20; 1 Chron. 1:1-3; cp. Jubilees 4:7-16). However, the passage quoted does not say

> "I Enoch was born the *last* in the 1st week",

and that this is not implied appears from an examination of the other weeks. The 2nd week, continuing the history up to Noah, adds only 3 generations (Gen. 5:21-29; 1 Chron. 1:3f; cp. Jub. 4:20-28). The 3rd week, ending with Abraham or Jacob, adds 10 or 12 generations; or, if the Cainan of the Septuagint and Jubilees is included, as many as 11 or 13 (Gen. 5:32; 11:10-26; 1 Chron. 1:24-28; cp. Jub. 4:33; 7:18; 8:1-8; 10:18; 11:1-15). The 4th week, ending at the Exodus or the entry into the promised land, adds 5 or 7 generations in the line of Levi - the smaller number if the previous week ended with Jacob, the larger if it ended with Abraham (Exod. 6:16-23; 1 Chron. 6:1-3), but 6 or 8 in the line of Judah (1 Chron. 2:1-10). The 5th week, ending with the building of the Temple, adds 9-10 generations in the line of Levi (1 Chron. 6:4-8, 50-53; Ezra 7:2-5), but 6 in the line of Judah (Ruth 4:20-22; 1 Chron. 2:11-15). The 6th week, ending with the

[37] Milik takes this view, and equates the weeks with the jubilees of other texts (*op. cit.*, p. 255f.).

destruction of the Temple and with the Exile, adds 12 generations in the line of Levi (1 Chron. 6:8-15), but 17 in the line of Judah (1 Kings 11 - 2 Kings 25; 2 Chron. 9-36). The figures for the remaining 4 weeks are much less clear, but enough has been said to show that weeks of 7 generations each were certainly not in the mind of the author.

If, however, the unit of which the weeks are made up is not a generation, it is a period of years. The question is, of how many years? There are various possibilities. Working with the sacred numbers 7 and 10, the 10 weeks could be weeks of year-weeks (7 x 7 years = 49 years or 1 jubilee), weeks of decades of years (7 x 10 years = 70 years), weeks of jubilees (7 x 7 x 7 years = 343 years), weeks of 70-year periods (7 x 7 x 10 = 490 years or 1 decade of jubilees) or weeks of centuries (7 x 10 x 10 years = 700 years). Then there are certain sacred periods of years in the Old Testament or Essene history which could be multiplied into weeks: the 490 years of Daniel's 70 Weeks (7 x 490 years = 3,430 years), the 390 years from Nebuchadnezzar to the rise of the Essenes (7 x 390 years = 2,730 years), the 70 years of the Exile (7 x 70 years = 490 years), the 40 years of Israel's wanderings in the wilderness, or of the eschatological war,[38] or from the death of the Teacher of Righteousness to the extinction of his enemies[39] (7 x 40 years = 280 years), and the 20 years of the building of Solomon's Temple, or from the rise of the Essenes to that of the Teacher of Righteousness[40] (7 x 20 years = 140 years). The choice of possibilities is not really so wide as this, for it will be found, on examination of the events mentioned in the prophecy and comparison with the other texts before us, that none of the 10 weeks could be as long as 3430 or 2730 years (more than half of the history of the world) or as short as 70 or 49 years. The real possibilities are 700, 490, 343, 280 and 140 years.

Of these 5 possibilities, the first 3 weeks appear to be weeks of centuries (700 years each). The 1st week cannot be anything less, for, if the genealogies of Genesis 5 and 11 are treated as complete, and their figures are used for computing time (as by the Essenes and others they were), the earliest date for the birth of Enoch is that of the Samaritan text and Jubilees 4:16, A.M. 522.[41] This is rather too late for a week of 490 years or less. The 2nd week must also be a week of centuries, as the earliest date for the Flood is that of the Samaritan text, A.M. 1307, the date in Jubilees 5:23 being a year later.[42] This again is too late for a week of 490 years or less. Dexinger

[38] Rule of War, 1 Q M, 2.

[39] Damascus Document, CD, 20:13-15. Cp. also Ezek. 4:6.

[40] 1 Kgs. 9:10; 2 Chron. 8:1; Damascus Document, CD, 1:9-12. Cp. also Judg. 15:20; 16:31; 1 Sam. 7:2.

[41] In the Massoretic text it is put 100 years later, and in the Septuagint 500 years later.

[42] In the Massoretic text it is put 349 years later, and in the Septuagint 935 years later.

rightly points out (*op. cit.*, p. 123f.) that the "unrighteousness" and "law" mentioned immediately after the Flood refer not to the Law of Moses, which comes in week 4, but to the law imposed by Noah on his transgressing children in Jubilees 7:20-39. This means, however, that the 2nd week probably covers A.M. 1372. The 3rd week is slightly more problematical. Charles and others suppose the man "chosen as the plant of righteous judgment" at the "close" of this week to be Abraham, and Abraham's birth is dated by Jubilees 11:14f. in A.M. 1876, which would be within the scope of a week of 490 years.[43] However, in all probability it is not Abraham but Jacob who is meant, for the Book of Jubilees speaks of God "choosing" Jacob but not of his "choosing" Abraham (Jub. 19:18; 22:10).[44] The date which Jubilees gives for the birth of Jacob is A.M. 2046 (Jub. 19:1,13), which again points to a week of centuries.[45]

The first 3 weeks, then, are weeks of centuries, totalling 2100 years from the creation. Thus far the 10 weeks follow the Jubilee of Centuries (Figure 5 on p. 241). In the Jubilee of Centuries, however, there are only 7 weeks, since 7 weeks of centuries add up to 4900 years, the whole length of the world's history. Here, on the other hand, we have 10 weeks. It is not altogether surprising, therefore, when one finds that the 4th week is markedly shorter than the first 3. At its "close" comes the revelation of the Law and (possibly) the entry into the promised land. These two events are dated by the Book of Jubilees in A.M. 2410 and 2450 (Jub. 50:4), only 310 and 350 years later respectively. The longest that the period from the birth of Jacob to the entry into the promised land can be made is by following the Massoretic text, according to which the total is 600 years.[46] Even 600 years is too long, however, for Jacob was 54 years old at the end of the previous week, so the maximum total for the 4th week is in fact 546 years. This is well beyond 490 years, but does not bring one anywhere near the "close" of 700 years, so cannot be the figure intended. It is best to fall back upon the figures of Jubilees, Jubilees being an Essene text, like our prophecy, and probably an earlier one. We will then need a week near to 310 or 350 years in length. 343 years (a week of jubilees) is the nearest among the 5 possibilities which we identified on p. 245, and this might have to be

[43] The Massoretic, Samaritan and Septuagint dates would all be too late (56, 357 and 1,422 years too late respectively).

[44] Following Ps. 135:4; Isa. 41:8, rather than Neh. 9:7.

[45] This time the Massoretic date would be only just outside the week of centuries (6 years too late), but the Samaritan and Septuagint dates would be far outside (307 and 1,372 years too late respectively).

[46] See Gen. 47:9 (130 years) and Exod. 12:40 (430 years), and add to these the 40 years of wanderings in the wilderness. The Samaritan text and the Septuagint, with their variants in Exod. 12:40, reduce the period by 210-215 years (cp. the figures in Gen. 12:4; 21:5; 25:26; 47:9, on which all three texts agree), as is already perceived by Demetrius in the 3rd century B.C.

rounded up to a figure divisible by 10, so that the 10 weeks should total 4,900 years. Since the jubilee of jubilees was rounded up by the addition of 49 years (see p. 238), it would be in the right proportion for the week of jubilees to be rounded up by the addition of 7 years. 343 years would then become 350, bringing us to the exact date of the entry into the promised land according to Jubilees 50:4.[47]

At the "close" of the 5th week comes the building of Solomon's Temple. This is dated by the Massoretic text of 1 Kgs. 6:1 as 480 years after the Exodus, and by the Septuagint of the same verse as 440 years after it. Of our 5 possible lengths for a week, 490 years (7 periods of 70 years) seems the only one at all close, and we saw above (p. 222) how the period up to Solomon's Temple (i.e. until halfway between its founding and dedicating) could be made to last 490 years exactly.

At the "close" of the 6th week comes the destruction of the Temple and the Babylonian Exile. The figures for the reigns in Kings and Chronicles show that the destruction of the Temple came at least 370 years after its erection. However (as was noted on p. 222), because of the perplexing nature of the regnal figures in Kings and Chronicles, the period up to the destruction of the Temple may easily have been reckoned by the Essenes as 50 or 60 years longer than 370 years. Include with this the period of the Exile, and again we reach the figure of 490 years.

The 7th week is a week of "apostasy", like the Era of Wickedness, but only the first part of the Era of Wickedness is included, since the rise of the Essenes takes place at the "close" of the week. We know from Damascus Document, CD, 1:5-9 that the Essenes dated their own rise 320 years after the end of the Exile, which points to a week of 343 (rounded up to 350) years. There are 30 years to spare, which is rather a lot, so perhaps the rise of the Teacher of Righteousness is included as well. Certainly, the Essenes' "sevenfold wisdom and knowledge" depended greatly on him, since the Damascus Document describes them as (relatively) "blind" until his appearance:

> Yet for 20 years they were like blind men groping for their way. And God observed their deeds, that they sought him with a whole heart, and he raised for them a Teacher of Righteousness to guide them in the way of his heart (Damascus Doc., CD, 1:9-11).

The rise of the Essenes as a distinct and organized party appears to have occurred about 171 B.C., allowing for an error of 2 years either way (see p. 234), so the 20 years would take us to about 151 B.C., and the remaining 10 years of the 350 to about 141 B.C. The period would therefore include the

[47] If, then, the "enclosure" is the Tabernacle, the reference is not to its original erection (cp. 1 En. 89:36) but to its re-erection in the promised land (cp. 1 En. 89:40).

military campaigns of Judas and Jonathan Maccabaeus, which may be the meaning of the concluding words of the account of this week:

> And in it they [the Essenes] will root out the foundations of violence and the work of lying, to execute judgment (1 En. 91:11).

There is every reason to think that the Essenes played a part in the Maccabaean war of liberation, at least in its early stages. The sins of "violence" and "lying" are constant themes in the Essene literature (used, for example, to describe the sins of the world before the Flood in week 2 of this prophecy), and the reference here could either be to the Syrian oppressors or to their Hellenizing Jewish collaborators, both of whom were "rooted out" in the Maccabaean war.

The 8th week covers the eschatological war (see Ezek. 38-39; Dan. 11:40 - 12:1; Zech. 12-14), and has at its "close" the building of the New Temple. The war cannot be the Maccabaean war, as is often supposed, since we have found that this falls within the period of week 7. The events are parallel to those of 1 Enoch 90, where the rise of the Essenes and of Judas Maccabaeus (verse 9f.) is followed, in turn, by the eschatological war (verse 19, and cp. verse 34) and the building of the New Jerusalem (verses 28-36). The next event in 1 Enoch 90 is the coming of the priestly and lay Messiahs (verse 37f.), which we know from other texts was expected in the last of Daniel's 70 Weeks, between 10 B.C. and A.D. 2 (see p. 232).[48] The 8th week, therefore, cannot be longer than about 130-140 years, and if the coming of the priestly Messiah was expected to follow the building of the New Temple immediately, as seems probable, that will be its length. The 8th week, then, consists of 7 periods of 20 years (the length of time of the building of Solomon's Temple, or from the rise of the Essenes to the appearance of the Teacher of Righteousness), totalling 140 years. If (as suggested above) the Messiahs were expected in connection with the building of the New Temple, this will explain why the prophecy does not mention them separately; it will also supply an additional reason why the 8th week is called "the Week of

[48] If the eschatological war of 1 Enoch 90 and the 8th week is the same as that described in the Qumran Rule of War, 1QM, and Messianic Rule, 1Q Sa, it would seem that, by the time the latter works were written (late 1st century B.C.?), the failure of the war to take place had led to a revision of Essene expectations, so that they now expected the lay Messiah to be the leader in the war, not just the ruler after it. That the event next expected by the Essenes (presumably the eschatological war) had failed to occur on time is confirmed by column 7 of the Qumran Habakkuk Commentary, 1QpHab , a work which is shown by internal evidence to be of Herodian date. The sequence of events in 1 En. 90 also includes a limited judgment (verses 20-27; the great judgment is still to come, verse 31) and a conversion of the Gentiles (verses 30-33), again a limited one probably. For a careful collection and analysis of all the Qumran references to the eschatological war, see Jean Carmignac, "La future intervention de Dieu selon la pensée de Qumran", in *Qumran: sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu* (ed. Mathias Delcor, pp. 219-229).

Righteousness", since the Messiahs were to "atone for the iniquity" of God's servants (Damascus Document, CD, 14:19).

For the remaining 2 weeks, we are left with 980 years of the 4900 years which the Essenes expected to complete the history of the world. The 9th week is occupied with the conversion of the whole of mankind, and the 10th week concludes (in its "7th part") with the final Judgment and the New Creation. If the 9th and 10th weeks correspond to the last two decades of jubilees in The Ages of the Creation, as seems very possible, they will consist of 490 years each, making 980 years together.

The 10 weeks, therefore, are not of arbitrary or indefinite length, but neither are they all of the same length. Each of the weeks, when divided into its 7 "days", yields a period which to the Essenes was significant, whether 100, 70, 49 or 20 years. However, the prophecy cannot be interpreted without a prior knowledge of Essene chronology and eschatology, and was probably devised as a sort of riddle, meaningful to those who had this knowledge but meaningless to others. It cannot, therefore, have been one of the earliest texts of the sort we have been studying, but must date from a time when other texts had already firmly established the lines which Essene chronology and eschatology would follow.

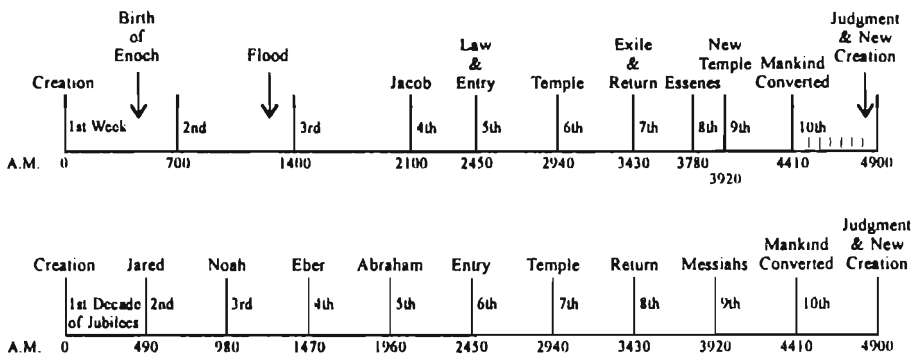

Fig. 6: *The Ten Great Weeks*

6. *The Importance of Essene Chronology for Essene Practice*

Two of the solemn undertakings made by Essenes were to observe the sabbatical year and the jubilee-year:

> With an offering of lips I will praise him, according to an ordinance which is engraved for ever... at the times appointed for years until their year-weeks, at the beginning of their year-weeks until the jubilee-year (Community Rule, 1Q S, 10:6-8).

One of these undertakings was far more significant than the other, inasmuch as the sabbatical year was observed by all Jews, but the jubilee-year, probably, by the Essenes alone. A tractate of the Mishnah (Shebiith) is devoted to the laws of the sabbatical year, and historical evidence of the observance of the sabbatical year in the last few centuries B.C. is provided by the First Book of Maccabees and Josephus.[49] No such record of the observance of the jubilee-year is to be found, however, and the Mishnah devotes no tractate to its laws; instead, the Mishnah speaks of the time "when the law of the year of jubilee was binding" as a period long past (Arakhin 7:1; 9:1). According to the rabbinic chronicle Seder Olam Rabbah, it was in force only in the years between Joshua and Ezra, and the chronicle reckons time by jubilees only in that period. A broadly similar opinion is expressed in Siphra, Be-Har 2:3. The rabbis were in disagreement among themselves whether a jubilee consisted of 49 years or 50, the majority favouring the latter opinion (Bab. Rosh ha-Shanah 8b-9a, Nedarim 61a), but the disagreement did not have to be resolved, since the question was merely theoretical.[50] For the Essenes, however, it was not theoretical. There was a law about the jubilee in the Bible, and they intended to observe it.

In order to observe it, however, they needed to know when the jubilee-year was. This was the practical value of their chronological writings, to supply the necessary information. The sabbatical year and the jubilee-year were to be observed from the time Israel entered the promised land, "when you come into the land which I give you" (Lev. 25:2; cp. Jubilees 50:2). There had been an interruption during the Exile, but after that Israel had returned. The Essenes, therefore, needed to know the date when the people entered the promised land, the date when they returned after the Exile, and the number of years from the return to their own day. This information their chronological writings undertook to provide. And, because of the practical purpose in view, it was natural that their chronological writings should exhibit great care to be consistent with one another (as we have seen they do), and should normally measure time in year-weeks and jubilees, rather than in 10s and 100s of years, which was a method equally biblical (Gen. 15:13; Exod. 12:40f; 1 Kgs. 6:1, etc.).

We saw above that the entry into the promised land took place at the end of the 50th jubilee, and the return from the Exile at the end of the 70th jubilee (Figure 1 on p. 223); that the period from the return to the rise of the Essene movement was 320 years (pp. 233-234); and that the 77th jubilee

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[49] 1 Macc. 6:49,53f; Josephus, *War* 1:2:4, or 1:60; *Antiquities* 11:8:5, or 11:338; 12:9:5, or 12:378; 13:8:1, or 13:234; 14:10:6, or 14:202,206; 14:16:2, or 14:475; 15:1:2, or 15:7.

[50] Both groups of rabbis held that the jubilee-year was the 50th year, but Rabbi Judah held that it was also the 1st year of the next jubilee. It is unlikely that the Essenes held Rabbi Judah's view, as was seen in note 1.

ended about 23 years later, between 150 and 146 B.C. (p. 232). Since the Essene jubilee lasted 49 years and concluded with the jubilee-year, the jubilee-years of Essene history can be fixed, within a 2-year margin of error either way. In the following table, the whole period of the known existence of Essenism in Palestine, up to A.D. 70, is covered, and the period of the proto-Essene movement is tentatively added, though whether the same precision in determining the year would at first have been attainable is of course uncertain.[51]

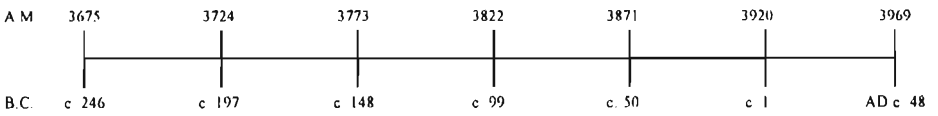

Fig. 7: *The Jubilee-Years of Essene History*

7. *The Relation Between Essene Eschatology and Essene Prediction*

Some of the Essenes, Josephus tells us, had a great reputation as foretellers of the future, and seldom (if ever) were found to be wrong. He attributes this power to their study of holy books and apophthegms of prophets, together with their virtuous life and their rites of purification (*War* 2:8:12, or 2:159; *Antiquities* 15:10:5, or 15:373,379). Such a practice as prediction would doubtless be encouraged by the Essenes' exceptionally strong doctrine of predestination (*Antiquities* 13:5:9, or 13:171f; 18:1:5, or 18:18) and fits in with the often predictive content of the apocalyptic writings cherished at Qumran. Though Josephus does not put the Essene prophets on a level with the biblical prophets, but envisages that they might sometimes be wrong, he does attribute to them a high degree of accuracy. He has, however, only limited information as to how this accuracy was achieved. Very likely they erred more often than he thinks - the apocalyptic literature from Qumran would certainly suggest that they did - but (human nature being what it is)

[51] The reason why, in figure 7, the equivalent of A.M. 3969 is given as A.D. 48, not A.D. 49, is that the Essene year is 1¼ days shorter than the true solar year, a discrepancy which, from the time of our synchronizations in 167-152 B.C., would have grown to more than 6 months. The figures given do not agree with those calculated by B. Z. Wacholder in his article "Chrono-messianism", in *Hebrew Union College Annual*, vol. 46 (1975), pp. 201-218, but this is not surprising, since there is no reason to suppose that the Essene sabbatical years, being based upon a special chronology, coincided with those of other Jews, which are Wacholder's concern. Indeed, Jubilees 6:34; 23:19 probably implies that they did not, since there is no reason to think that the Essenes differed from other Jews over the identification of the *weekly* Sabbaths. Add to this the fact that the Essene year was short, and that the Essene sabbatical and jubilee years probably began in Nisan, not in Tishri (see note 62 on p. 132).

the wonder excited by their successes probably caused people to turn a blind eye to their failures.

The literature which we have been considering, and the other Qumran literature, reveal three methods by which the Essenes sought to foretell coming events. The first of these methods is

(a) *The Interpretation of the Prophecies of the Old Testament.* The "holy books" and "apophthegms of prophets" which Josephus says the Essenes studied for this purpose were doubtless primarily those of the Old Testament. We have seen that they expected an eschatological war, a New Temple, a priest after the order of Melchizedek, a lay Messiah, a conversion of the Gentiles, a final judgment, and a new creation; and the reason why they expected all these was, of course, that the Old Testament prophecies foretold them. We have seen that the Essenes paid special attention to Daniel's prophecy of the 70 Weeks, which (taken with Ezekiel's prophecy of the 390 years) enabled them to date some of their future expectations. The Essene prophets doubtless also studied the non-biblical apocalypses produced in Essene circles, but these would have foretold the future by the same methods as those who studied them. - The second method which we have seen used is

(b) *The Calculation of Significant Dates.* The Essenes believed that great events tended to happen at regular intervals. Past history could be divided into decades of jubilees or into "weeks", and in each such period (usually at its end) a great event had occurred. The same could be done with future history. The very bounds of history were controlled by sacred numbers from the Old Testament, which determined how long the world would last and when it would end. If, therefore, one knew from the Old Testament what these sacred numbers were, and what eschatological events were to be expected, one could calculate the dates when they would be likely to happen. - The third method is one which we have not seen in the writings before us, but which is attested by several examples from Qumran Cave 4, namely,

(c) *The Casting of Horoscopes.* The foretelling of the future by the signs of the Zodiac, to which two of these texts (4Q 186 and 4Q 561), both horoscopes, and the *brontologion* (thunder-omen) 4Q 318 refer, was an inconsistency in the Essenes, since astrology is condemned in 1 Enoch 8:3 and Jubilees 8:3f; 12:16-20. Nevertheless, as astrology is based upon belief in fate, it could make a certain appeal to those with strong predestinarian views, and it evidently did.

Josephus gives three interesting examples of successful predictions by Essene prophets, and it is not too difficult to see which method they each reflect. The first is the prediction by Judas the Essene that the Hasmonaean prince Antigonus would be killed on a certain day at Strato's Tower (*War*

1:3:5, or 1:78-80; *Antiquities* 13:11:2, or 13:311-13). Since this prediction concerned a person and a place not mentioned in the Old Testament, and fixed the day as well as the year of his death, it lay outside the scope of methods (a) and (b), but not of method (c).

The second example is Simon the Essene's interpretation of the dream of the ethnarch Archelaus, fixing the year of his downfall (*War* 2:7:3, or 2:113; *Antiquities* 17:13:3, or 17:345-48). Here the dream and interpretation are strongly reminiscent of the dreams interpreted by Joseph in Genesis 40-41, and the number of the years of Archelaus's reign is part of the dream, so in all probability Simon used method (a), following Joseph's example in the way he interpreted the symbols which the dream appeared to present.

The third example is Menahem the Essene's double prediction that the boy Herod would become king, and later that he would reign something over 30 years (*Antiquities* 15:10:5, or 15:373-79). Even if Menahem had thought he saw the reign of Herod foretold in Scripture, this would hardly have enabled him to identify the boy Herod as the king foretold. It is therefore probable that on the first occasion he had used method (c) and cast Herod's horoscope. Since Herod came of a distinguished family, this would be a natural thing for a practitioner in astrology to do, and the birth-day of the son of a noble house (needed for the horoscope) would be easy to discover.

The prophecy of a reign of more than 30 but less than 40 years is a different matter, however. Herod was born about 73 B.C., was appointed king by Rome in 40 B.C., and made good his claim by defeating the Hasmonaean pretender Antigonus in 37 B.C. The prophecy was made after Herod's accession, and therefore means over 30 years from 40 or 37 B.C., i.e. until after 10 or 7 B.C. Menahem doubtless saw that a strong king, supported by Rome, would be likely to live out his threescore years and ten, and to die about 3 B.C. (Herod in fact died in 4 B.C., only a year sooner). However, it was by no means impossible for a king to live longer. Herod's predecessor Hyrcanus II, though he met a violent death, was at least 72 at the time, and according to Josephus was 81 (*Antiquities* 15:6:3, or 15:178). It is very likely, therefore, that Menahem had an additional reason for thinking that Herod would not reign 40 years, and this reason would be the Essene interpretation of Daniel's prophecy of the 70 Weeks, according to which the Messiahs were expected in the last year-week of that period, beginning between 10 and 6 B.C. (see p. 232). Herod's reign, consequently, would continue only until the Messiahs appeared and took over his authority. This means that the prediction reflects methods (a) and (b).

The picture which Matthew gives of Herod's reaction to the coming of the Magi, just before his death and up to 2 years after the birth of Jesus (Matt. 2:1-18), fits in well with Menahem's prophecy. Herod's advancing years, and his frantic jealousy (of which Josephus gives so vivid an account),

must be part of the explanation of his savage impiety on this occasion, but the fact that his predicted 30 years had elapsed, and that the Essenes were expecting the Messiahs any year now, may well be a further part of the explanation. He at once assumes that the "King of the Jews" sought by the Magi is the Davidic Messiah, and asks "the chief priests and scribes of the people" where the Messiah is to be born. They tell him "in Bethlehem of Judaea", but being Sadducees (who, as far as we know, did not engage in calculations of dates) and Pharisees (who, as we saw in note 30, were not expecting the Messiah for many years yet), they do not even bother to accompany the Magi on their 6-mile journey to Bethlehem. Herod, however, is more inclined to rely on the opinions of the Essenes, and takes no chances. Any potential rival to his throne and his dynasty (especially one as important as the Messiah) has to be exterminated.[52]

The fact that both the Magi and the Essenes followed the stars is curious, but may not be significant. The Magi, in their quest for the Messiah, were led by a star and by supernatural dreams. The Essenes were led mainly by the interpretation of prophecy. But, though the means that guided them were different, the time when they expected the Messiah to be manifested to them was very much the same. It was the time of the birth of Jesus of Nazareth.

HELLENISTIC CHRONOLOGY

Compared with Essene chronology, the sources of Jewish Hellenistic chronology are less numerous, and there survives a comprehensive systematization of them in the writings of Josephus. Earlier chronographers of this school were Demetrius in the late third century B.C. and Eupolemus in the mid-second century B.C., but only fragments of their work are preserved.[53]

Josephus's chronology is really a study in itself, though recent scholarship has tended to confine itself to the period nearest to his own time. For his figures, as for his facts, Josephus (writing in the last thirty years of the first century A.D.) uses a variety of sources, and when they conflict he either chooses between them or harmonizes them. His figures are only approximate and do not altogether agree, but the larger discrepancies mostly disappear if the unsupported figures of 3,102 years for the period between Creation and the erection of the First Temple (*Antiquities* 8:3:1, or 8:61-62)

[52] That Herod would have been more likely to heed the views of the Essenes than of the other schools of thought is clear from Josephus, *Antiquities* 15:10:4-5, or 15:372, 378.

[53] The fragments are to be found in Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* 1:21:141, and Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 9:17, 21, 26, 29-34, 39. Modern studies are Osvalda Andrei, "Per una definizione del sistema di Demetrio il Cronografo", in *Prometheus*, vol. 15 (1989), pp. 254-268; B. Z. Wacholder, *Eupolemus* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College, 1974).

and of 4,513½ years for the period between Creation and the destruction of the First Temple (*Antiquities* 10:8:5, or 10:147-148) are amended to 3,702 and 4,213½ respectively; and some of the smaller discrepancies disappear if allowance is made for the 40 years between the departure from Egypt and the entry into the promised land, for the 20 years between the commencement and the dedication of the First Temple, and for the 70 years between the beginning and the end of the Exile - points on which confusion could easily arise either in his sources or in his own thinking.

Though a Palestinian Pharisee himself, many of the works on which Josephus draws are Hellenistic. His figures for the period up to the Exodus are mainly (though not wholly) based on the Septuagint,[54] but his figures for the remainder of history seem to be based (with some adjustment, as usual) on those of Demetrius and Eupolemus. A fragment of Eupolemus's work, quoted by Clement of Alexandria, dates Creation and the Exodus in relation to the fifth year of King Demetrius I, i.e. in relation to 157 B.C. Demetrius, for his part, likewise in a quotation by Clement, dates the destruction of the northern and southern kingdoms in relation to the accession of Ptolemy IV in 222 B.C. Eupolemus dates the Exodus 1,580 years before 157 B.C., i.e. in 1737 B.C. One of Demetrius's calculations, as we shall see on p. 263, was revised by a subsequent hand to date the beginning of the Exile in 667 B.C., and was presumably already known to Josephus in the revised form. Josephus's dates for the Exodus and the beginning of the Exile are between 1703 and 1654 B.C. in the former case, and 640 B.C. in the latter case,[55] so he has made each date slightly later - something over 34 years later in the one case and 27 years later in the other.[56] Nevertheless, Josephus's figures are essentially the high figures of Eupolemus and Pseudo-Demetrius, and involve an estimate of 592-612 years for the period from the Exodus to the building and dedication of the First Temple;[57] which estimate Josephus more than once repeats, shutting his eyes to the figure of 480 years (Hebrew) or 440 years (Septuagint) for this period in 1 Kgs. 6:1.

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[54] His figure of 2,262 years in *Antiquities* 1:3:3, or 1:82, is based on the Septuagint of Genesis 5; his figure of 430 years in *Antiquities* 2:15:2, or 2:318, divided between Canaan and Egypt, is based on the Septuagint of Exod. 12:40; but his figure of 1,440 years in *Antiquities* 8:3:1, or 8:61-62, implies numbers considerably smaller than those of the Septuagint in Genesis 11-12 (to which, inconsistently, he approaches much more closely in *Antiquities* 1:6:5, or 1:148-150), though considerably larger than the numbers in the Massoretic Hebrew of those chapters. The figure of 1,440 may overlook the 40 years between the departure from Egypt and the entry into the promised land, but it is substantially confirmed by Josephus's figures elsewhere (see Table II on pp. 258-259).

[55] See Tables I and II on p. 257, pp. 258-259.

[56] Josephus reduces more substantially Eupolemus's figure (in the same fragment) for the creation. He brings it down from 5306 B.C. to about 4860 B.C. See Tables I and II on p. 257, pp. 258-259. It appears likely from the fragment of Demetrius in Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 9:21, that Demetrius's figure for the creation was even higher than Eupolemus's.

[57] See Table II on pp. 258-259.

Because of his later date, Josephus is able to continue the Hellenistic chronology down to A.D. 70, probably with the aid of Pharisaic materials, which similarly extend to that date (see below). How he, and earlier Hellenistic writers, deal with the 70 Weeks of Daniel 9 and the coming of the Messiah will be discussed later.

PHARISAIC CHRONOLOGY

The latest of the three main chronological schemes to be devised was probably the Pharisaic. It is set out in full in the rabbinic chronicle Seder Olam Rabbah, which is attributed to Rabbi Jose ben Halafta (mid-2nd century A.D.). We do not possess the chronicle in precisely the form in which it left Rabbi Jose's hand, as quotations in the Talmud show; and Rabbi Jose was himself probably an editor rather than the original compiler, since we shall find evidence on pp. 264-265 (see also note 30 on p. 247) that the scheme already existed in outline at the end of the first century B.C. or the beginning of the first century A.D., when the Assumption of Moses was written. This, however, seems to be the earliest historical trace of it. Another, and more compelling, indication of the late compilation of the scheme is the inaccuracy of its dates for the Exile, as compared with those of the Essene and Hellenistic schemes: they are about one and three quarter centuries too late.

The scheme begins, like the other two, at Creation, and ends, like Josephus's, at the destruction of the Temple in A.D. 70 (or, as the chronicle appears to date it, in A.D. 68).[58] Its date for Creation, about 3761 B.C., is the latest in any of the three schemes. The dates it uses for the biblical period are derived from the Massoretic Hebrew text, and it seems to condense the chronology as much as possible; limiting the length of the sojourn in Egypt in the same way as Jubilees and the Septuagint, by taking the figure in Exod. 12:40 to include the patriarchs' years in Canaan; and, in the post-biblical period, limiting the period of Persian rule to a mere 34 years. By this stage, the chronology is controlled by Daniel's 70 Weeks, or 490 years, and the length of them is reduced by dating them from the beginning, not the end, of the Exile.

It is possible to argue that the final period of the chronology of Seder Olam Rabbah must have been computed after A.D. 70. Working backwards from there, within the limits of the 70 Weeks, the compiler assigned 103 years to the period of the Herods, a similar 103 years to the period of the

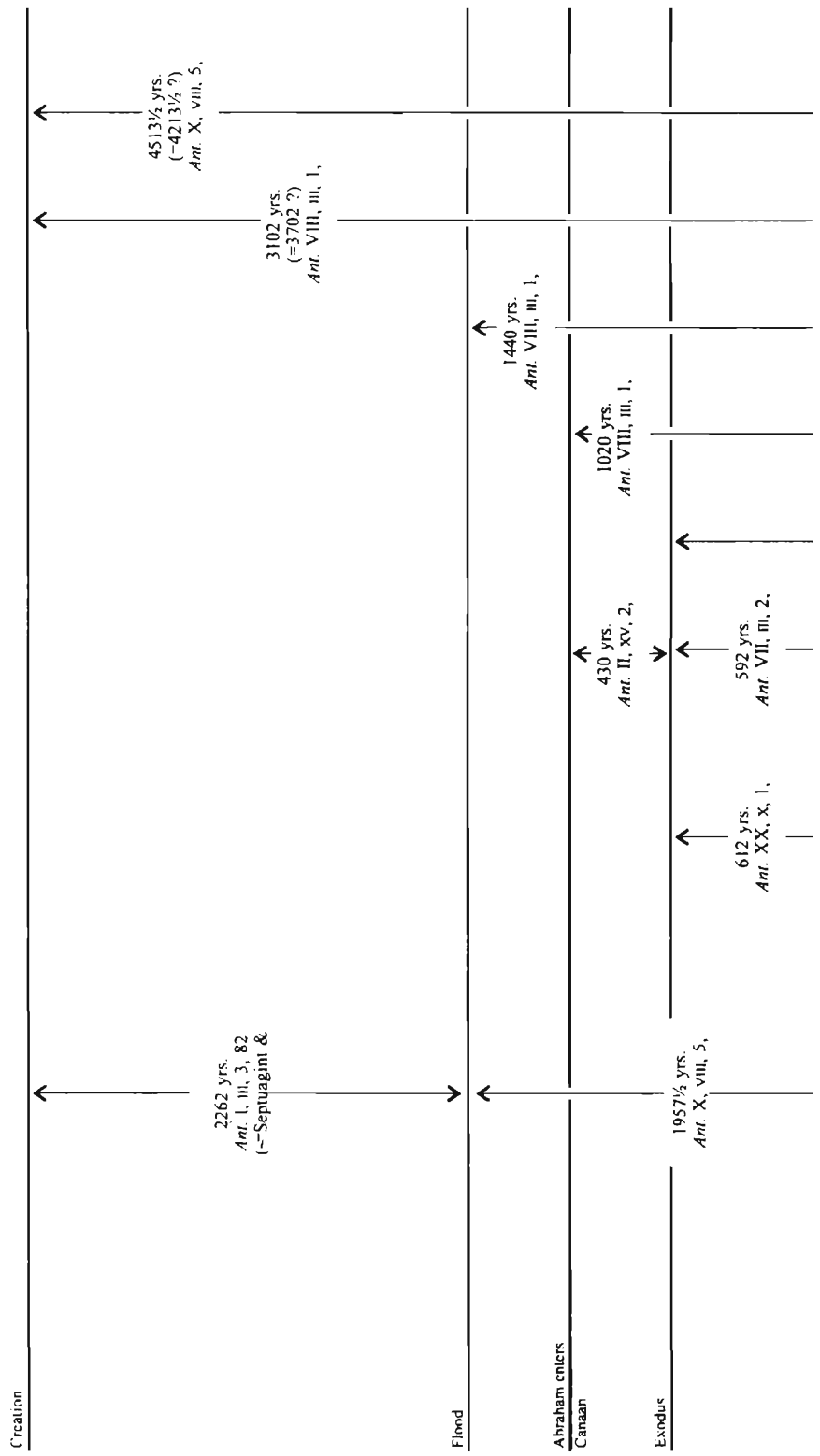
[58] An attempt to reconcile the two dates is made by Edgar Frank, in his work *Talmudic and Rabbinical Chronology* (New York: Feldheim, 1956), which provides a helpful discussion of other aspects also of the Seder Olam Rabbah chronology.

Maccabees, 180 years (the rest of the Seleucid era, more or less) to the period of the Greeks, and, allowing for the 70 years of the Exile, this left just 34 years for the period of the Persians (70 + 34 + 180 + 103 + 103 = 490). On the other hand, it is quite conceivable that these figures were worked out at the beginning of the first century. 34-36 years for Herod the Great and 103 years for the Maccabees were then recent history, and the familiar Seleucid era, beginning about 312 B.C., showed that the period of the Greeks extended back a further 173-175 years, plus a few for Alexander the Great himself (say, 180 in all). Before this, however, there may have been nothing to go on but the figures in the Bible, and Cyrus, who reigned up to his third year (Dan. 10:1), Darius, who reigned up to his second year (Ezra 4:24), and Artaxerxes or Ahasuerus, who reigned up to his 32nd year (Neh. 13:6), were the three named kings of Persia, and could have made 34 years seem a reasonable length for the Persian period to a chronographer who was interested in condensing his chronology. The fourth Persian king, mentioned in Dan. 11:2, need not even have reigned a whole year.

If the figures were indeed worked out at this juncture, it would provide a possible explanation why the destruction of Jerusalem seems to be dated two years early. A.D. 68 is then a predicted, not a recorded date. The Jews rebelled in the last of Daniel's 70 Weeks (according to the Pharisaic computation) in anticipation of the imminent appearance of the Messiah, but the war went on two years longer than expected, without his appearance taking place.

Table I. COMPARATIVE CHRONOLOGIES

	ESSENE *(Jubilees, Testament of Levi, Damascus Document, etc.)*	*HELLENISTIC* *(Josephus)*	*PHARISAIC* *(Seder Olam Rabbah)*	*CHRISTIAN* (Africanus, Hippolytus)
Creation	c. 3906 B.C.	c. 4860 B.C. (Eupolemus 5306 B.C.)	3761 B.C.	(A) 5502 B.C. (H) 5504 B.C.
Exodus	c. 1506 B.C.	c. 1703 B.C. (Eupolemus 1737 B.C.)	1313 B.C.	(A) 1795 B.C. (H) 1691 B.C.
Building of 1st Temple	c. 978 B.C.	c. 1062 B.C.	833 B.C.	(A) 1051 B.C. (H) 1096 B.C.
Beginning of Exile	c. 560 B.C.	640 B.C. (Demetrius 560 B.C. Ps. Demetrius 667 B.C.	423 B.C.	(A) 631 B.C. (H) 661 B.C.


Creation
Flood
Abraham enters Canaan
Exodus
2262 yrs.
Ant. I, III, 3, 82
(=Septuagint &
4513½ yrs.
(=4213½ ?)
Ant. X, VIII, 5,
3102 yrs.
(=3702 ?)
Ant. VIII, III, 1,
1440 yrs.
Ant. VIII, III, 1,
1020 yrs.
Ant. VIII, III, 1,
430 yrs.
Ant. II, XV, 2,
592 yrs.
Ant. VII, III, 2,
612 yrs.
Ant. XX, X, 1,
1957½ yrs.
Ant. X, VIII, 5,

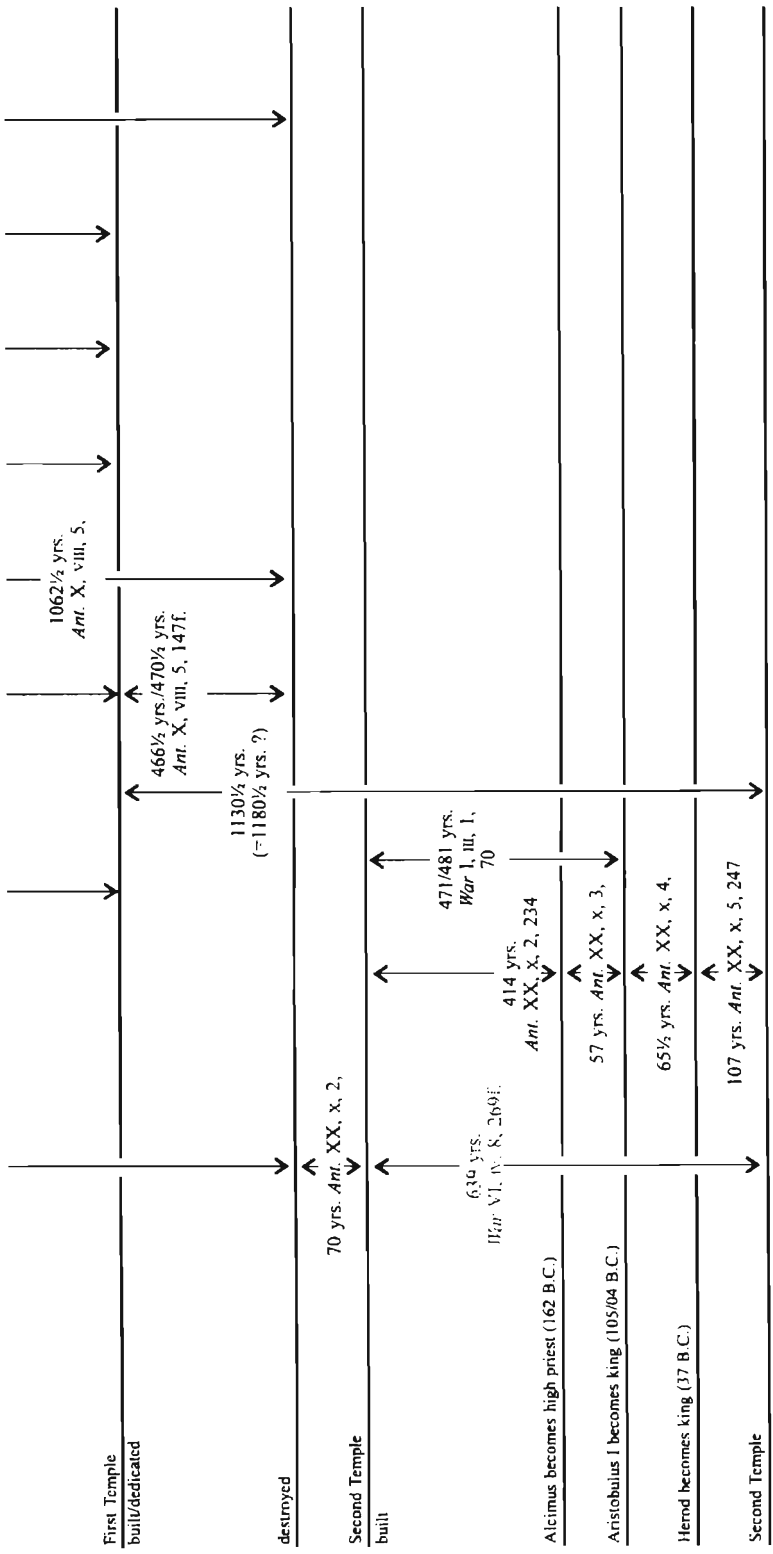


Table II. JOSEPHUS'S CHRONOLOGY

All these chronologies are drawn up by their compilers in terms of Anno Mundi. The fixed point here used for transposing them into terms of B.C. is, in the case of the second and third columns, the destruction of the Temple by the Romans in A.D. 70 (or 68), and, in the case of the first column, the Maccabaean rising, the re-dedication of the Temple and the assumption of the high priesthood by Jonathan Maccabaeus in 167, 164 and 152 B.C. (Eupolemus and Demetrius, however, provide their own fixed points in contemporary Hellenistic history, as is noted on p. 255). Account has been taken, in the second and third columns, of the fact that there was no year 0 between B.C. and A.D., and, in the first column, of the fact that the Essene solar year was 1¼ days too short. As regards the fourth column, Julius Africanus and Hippolytus relate their chronology both to the life of Christ and to secular chronology in a way which shows that they dated Christ's birth in 2 B.C.

The Seventy Weeks and the Coming of the Messiah

After using to the full the resources of Old Testament and subsequent history to construct their chronologies, the Jewish writers turned to prophecy, and especially to the prophecy of the 70 Weeks in Daniel 9, to extend their calculations into the present or future. The same literalistic methods of interpretation were used with prophecy also, and it was often concluded that a date could be given to the coming of the Messiah.

The messianic interpretation of the prophecy of the 70 Weeks, whether Jewish or Christian, proceeds from the fact that the summary in verse 24 shows it to be a prophecy of hope. Though it foretells great calamities, its overall message is gloriously hopeful. The non-messianic interpretation, by contrast, tones down the promises and concentrates on the calamities. After the Hellenization of the Temple in the decade beginning 175 B.C., and again after the destruction of the Temple in A.D. 70, certain Jewish interpreters adopted non-messianic interpretations, as we shall see; and such interpretations are very frequently found in modern commentaries on Daniel and modern translations of the Bible. Nevertheless, the most usual interpretations in Judaism until after A.D. 70, and in Christianity down until the end of the nineteenth century, were of the messianic kind.

The messianic interpretations of the prophecy have certain characteristics in common. Since they are looking for a Messiah, they concentrate their attention on the concluding part of the 70-week period, and expect "the anointed one, the prince" of verse 25 not after the 7 weeks but after the 7 weeks and 62 weeks (i.e. 69 weeks). Also, and as a consequence, they usually identify "the anointed one, the prince" with "the anointed one" who is cut off after the 62 weeks in verse 26. This certainly makes good and

consistent sense of the prophecy, and only requires that the hopeful message of the prophecy should be fulfilled in spite of the death of the Messiah (on Jewish interpretations) or because of his death (on the Christian interpretation). The remarkable division of the period of 69 weeks into 7 and 62 (verse 25) may either be an indication that 70 weeks (of years) are also 10 jubilees (of 7 weeks each), or else that the rebuilding of Jerusalem, twice spoken of in that verse, will take place during the 7 weeks, though the coming of the anointed one will not take place until after the 62. These exegetical conclusions are sufficiently compelling for them to have influenced some non-messianic interpretations of the prophecy also. As we shall see, the only known non-messianic interpretation which dates from pre-Christian times has likewise a single anointed one, at the end of the 69 weeks. The same exegetical conclusions have also influenced all the ancient translations of Daniel which can claim to date, either actually or substantially, from pre-Christian times. In the Old Septuagint, in Theodotion, in Symmachus and in the Peshitta the 7 and 62 weeks are treated as a single period, at the end of which the anointed one comes.[59] The same is true even of Aquila's translation,[60] though Aquila's rabbinical education was unimpeachable. It was not until the Massoretic punctuation of the Hebrew text reached its present form that a sharp division was made between the 7 weeks and the 62, implying a different (and presumably non-messianic) anointed one at the end of each. This reaction against the messianic interpretation of the prophecy seems not to have occurred until after the Jewish rejection of the messiahship of Jesus and the disappointment of the other Jewish messianic hopes of the first and second centuries A.D.

1. *Essene Computation*

The chronological and eschatological calculations of the Essenes occupied the first main section of this chapter. It is shown there that the Essenes began Daniel's 70 Weeks at the return from the Exile, which they dated in Anno Mundi 3430, and that they therefore expected the period of 70 weeks or 490 years to expire in A.M. 3920, which meant for them between 3 B.C.

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[59] The Septuagint reads: "And after 7 and 70 and 62 the unction will be taken away... after 7 and 70 times and 62 years". Theodotion reads: "From the going forth of the commandment... till the anointed one, the ruler, will be 7 weeks and 62 weeks". Both mention only one "anointed one" *(christos)*, substituting "unction" *(chrisma)* on the other occasion. The Peshitta repeats "anointed one" or "Messiah", calling him on the first occasion (verse 25) "the Messiah, the King" (*mesiha malka*), and on the second occasion (verse 26) stating that the Messiah will be "killed", but is otherwise similar to Theodotion. As regards Symmachus, see note 60.

[60] In the case of Aquila, and also Symmachus, we have his rendering of verse 26 but not of verse 25 (see Fredericus Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum Quae Supersunt*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1875, vol. 2, p. 926). Aquila's rendering of verse 26 reads: "And after the 7 and 62 weeks the anointed one will be utterly destroyed". Symmachus's rendering differs only verbally.

and A.D. 2. Consequently, their hopes of the coming of the Messiah of Israel (the Son of David) were concentrated on the preceding 7 years, the last week after the 69 weeks. Their interpretation of the 70 Weeks is first found in the Testament of Levi and the Pseudo-Moses Documents (4Q 387a, etc.), which probably means that it was worked out before 146 B.C. (see pp. 232-233). Since the eschatological expectations of the Essenes were so intense, and their chronological investigations (already elaborated in the Book of Jubilees, only marginally later than the Testament of Levi) were so meticulous,[61] it may be that the Essenes were the first to put a date to the end of the 70 Weeks. At all events, their messianic interpretation of the prophecy is one of the earliest interpretations of it on record.[62]

2. *Hellenistic Computation (Septuagint)*

Whether the first non-messianic interpretation of the prophecy is actually older or younger than this cannot be decided with certainty, but it is found in the original Septuagint translation of Daniel. Here the anointed one who is cut off is evidently identified with the high priest Onias III, who was murdered by his Hellenizing successor Menelaus about 171 B.C. There is nothing inappropriate in thinking of the high priest as a "prince" or "ruler"(נגיד), and we know from 2 Maccabees that Onias III was as much admired in Egypt as in Palestine, which is not surprising since his son Onias had come as a refugee to Egypt and had founded the temple of Leontopolis there. Consequently, the Septuagint interpretation is a natural one to find in an Egyptian translation, and since it is old, modern commentators even

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[61] On the date of Jubilees, see especially J. C. VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (Harvard Semitic Monographs 14, Missoula: Scholars Press, 1977), ch. 3. It is there dated between 163 and 140 B.C. VanderKam thinks it more likely to date from before 152 B.C. than after, since it does not (like the Testament of Levi) denounce the Hasmonaean high priesthood. This would make it earlier than the Testament of Levi. However, arguments from silence are apt to be deceptive, and it seems more likely to the present writer that parallel material about Levi originated in the Testament, and that the more sophisticated chronology of Jubilees was devised later, not earlier.

[62] Relevant to the Essene interpretation of the 70 Weeks prophecy, probably, is the interpretation of it given by the Syrian Fathers. P. M. Casey has cogently argued, with regard to Daniel 7, that the Syrian Christian exegesis of Daniel was of Jewish origin ("Porphyry and the Origin of the Book of Daniel", in *The Journal of Theological Studies*, N.S., vol. 27, 1976, pp. 15-33). The Syrian interpretation of Daniel 7 is not messianic, but it is equally significant that the Syrian interpretation of Daniel 9 *is* (see, for example, Polychronius's *Commentary on Daniel, ad locum*, and Aphrahat's *17th Demonstration: On Christ the Son of God*). The sort of Judaism which lay behind the Syrian exegesis of Daniel was not Pharisaic, since it interpreted the resurrection (Dan. 12:2) figuratively, the Son of Man (Dan. 7:13) corporately, and the fourth world-empire (Dan. 2:33,40ff.; 7:7ff.) as the Hellenistic successors of Alexander, whereas Pharisaism interpreted the resurrection literally, the Son of Man messianically and the fourth world-empire as Rome. There is a good deal of reason for thinking that Essenism (which has left other traces in Syria) was the source on which the Syrian exegetes drew.

suppose, not infrequently, that it is the original interpretation intended by the author of the prophecy. Against this last supposition must be reckoned the extraordinary corruption of the text which the Septuagint translator has to perpetrate in order to make it say what he takes it to mean. He runs verses 25 to 27 of the prophecy together, and renders them thus:

> And after 7 and 70 and 62 the unction will be taken away and will not be, and the kingdom of the Gentiles will destroy the city and the Temple, with the anointed one...after 7 and 70 times and 62 years...

Here the 7 and 62 are *added to* the 70, of which they are in fact parts, and are furthermore treated as *years*, not weeks. The sum totals 139, and 139 years from the beginning of the then current Seleucid era brings one to 173 or 172 B.C., within about a year of the murder of Onias.[63]

3. *Hellenistic Computation (Pseudo-Demetrius)*

A second Hellenistic attempt to apply the prophecy to Onias III, but without violating its text, is probably to be found in the extant form of a fragment by the Hellenistic Jewish historian Demetrius, preserved by Clement of Alexandria (*Stromata* 1:21:141). Demetrius wrote in the late third century B.C. and based his chronology on the figures of the Septuagint, though carrying it on until his own time, which was the reign of Ptolemy IV Philopator. In the fragment in question he says that Israel was carried into captivity 128½ years before Judah and 573¾ years before Ptolemy IV, while Judah was carried into captivity 338¼ years before Ptolemy IV. Since Ptolemy IV came to the throne in 222 B.C., the two captivities are dated in 796 B.C. and 560 B.C. respectively. The problem is that the dates are not, as he says, 128½ years apart. Now, 560 B.C. is relatively accurate, as one would expect in a historian relatively near to the time, and an interval of 128½ years accords well enough with the figures in Kings and Chronicles. The suspect figure is 796 B.C. (573¾ years before Ptolemy IV), which is much too early, and could not be the result of any simple scribal error, since 573¾ should read 466¾. Probably, therefore, a later writer increased the figures of Demetrius's two dates by 107 years, in order that the 70 weeks, or 490 years, should bring one to the death of Onias; though actually the figure of one of the dates has survived in its original form. 107 years before 560 B.C. is 667 B.C., and 70 weeks or 490 years from then brings one to 177 B.C., which is within a single year-week of 171 B.C., the approximate date of Onias's death. The reckoning is not made, as with the Essene calculation, from the end of the Exile but from its beginning. This, however, is a

[63] The Seleucid era, used in 1 and 2 Maccabees and elsewhere, and based on the date of the Battle of Gaza, was apparently reckoned by four different methods from slightly different dates in 312 or 311 B.C. See Edgar Frank, *Talmudic and Rabbinical Chronology*, ch. 7.

common (though arbitrary) Jewish method, the assumption being that the commandment to rebuild Jerusalem went forth as soon as it was destroyed, contrary to the apparent implications of Dan. 9:1-3,23,25.

4. *Essene/Pharisaic Computation (Assumption of Moses)*

The Assumption of Moses, which in its present form appears to date from the very end of the first century B.C. or the beginning of the first century A.D., is a curious mixture of Essene and Pharisaic ideas. Its rejection of the sacrifices offered in the Second Temple (Ass. Mos. 4:7f; 5:1-4) is an Essene trait, as a comparison with 1 Enoch 89:67,73 shows. And, what is more to our present purpose, it expects a great intervention of God around the turn of the first century B.C. and the first century A.D., just as the Essenes did. After stating the length of Herod's reign, referring to the division of his kingdom among his sons after his death in 4 B.C., and describing the activities of Varus, the Roman Governor of Syria, in Jerusalem the same year, it continues

> And when this is done, the times shall be ended, in a moment the second course shall be ended, the four hours shall come (Ass. Mos. 7:1, R. H. Charles's translation),

the "four hours" being, presumably, four short periods (years or months, perhaps) before God's expected intervention. In these respects the work is Essene.

The author, however, incorporates into his work a chronology which (whether he realises it or not) is not Essene but Pharisaic, and conflicts with his imminent eschatological expectations. He claims that his book was written by Moses, at the end of Moses's life, in the 2,500th year from the creation of the world (Ass. Mos. 1:2), and that after Moses's death there would be "250 times" until the great intervention of God (Ass. Mos. 10:12). The "times" are probably year-weeks, and the two figures evidently correspond, one of them 250 decades of years after Creation, the other 250 weeks of years thereafter. Since the symmetry is deliberate, we are probably dealing with round numbers. Now, the Pharisaic chronology embodied in the rabbinic chronicle Seder Olam Rabbah dates Moses's death in A.M. 2488, which is only 12 years from A.M. 2500 and is much nearer to it than the figures of Hellenistic or Essene chronology. Moreover, there are ancient baraitas quoted from other Pharisaic literature in the Babylonian Talmud (Sanhedrin 97a-97b; Abodah Zarah 9a-9b) which state that the Messiah will come either in A.M. 4000 or shortly after A.M. 4231; and, since Seder Olam Rabbah equates A.M. 3828 with A.D. 68, these dates for the Messiah are equivalent to A.D. 240 and 471. But 250 year-weeks (or 1,750 years) after Moses's death in A.M. 2488 bring one to A.M. 4238, which is indeed

shortly after A.M. 4231 - a mere 7 years later. It is clear, therefore, that the Pharisaic chronology was already in existence when the Assumption of Moses was written, and was partially known to its author.

The question arises, how did the Pharisees arrive at these dates for the coming of the Messiah, one at least of which they had already devised by the end of the first century B.C.? The following explanation suggests itself.

Essene expectation must have reached fever-pitch towards the end of the first century B.C., with the eschatological war already overdue, and the Messiahs of Levi and Israel expected in the last of Daniel's 70 weeks, between 10 B.C. and A.D. 2.[64] The revolts which followed Herod's death, and the rise of the Zealot movement at the same period, were no doubt encouraged by this atmosphere. The Pharisees, despite their growing hostility to the Romans, were at no time fully committed to the Zealot policy, and certainly not at this early stage; and, what is more, they were very concerned to counteract the influence of the Essenes, whose teachings were fostering the unrest. Various ways of counteracting their influence were possible. One way was to re-examine the question of chronology and, if appropriate, to produce a different scheme from that of the Essenes. The scheme embodied in Seder Olam Rabbah is certainly different, and may only have been produced at about this juncture. It works from the Massoretic Hebrew text of the Bible, condenses the chronology as much as possible, dates the Exile extraordinarily late, and so postpones the last of the 70 weeks until A.D. 61-68. This, however, was only a relatively short postponement of Essene hopes. The dates in the baraitas are the results of more radical measures. The Essenes expected great events to occur at chronological turning points.[65] The date A.M. 4000 appears to be a postponement of the Messiah's coming until such a turning point, for on the chronology of Seder Olam Rabbah A.M. 4000 is not until A.D. 240. The other Pharisaic date for the Messiah's coming, A.M. 4231 or soon after, postpones the Messiah's coming even further, until a date as late as A.D. 471. This, however, is not at a chronological turning point, and must have been arrived at in a different way.

It is clear from another baraita in the Babylonian Talmud (Sanhedrin 97a) that the Pharisees expected the Messiah at the end of a year-week. The baraita begins: "In the year-week at the end of which the Son of David will come..." and since this refers to a future year-week, it is no doubt the 69th or 70th of Daniel's 70 Weeks that is in mind. Now, if the 70 Weeks are to end in A.D. 471, they have to begin in 20 B.C., the year before Herod began to rebuild the Temple. Herod did much important building work in Jerusalem,

[64] See p. 232, pp. 253-254.
[65] See p. 252, etc.

but his rebuilding of the Temple was undoubtedly the most important part of it. It looks, therefore, as if the "commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem" that begins Daniel's 70 Weeks has been reinterpreted as meaning not the rebuilding which followed the Exile but the rebuilding by Herod. This would explain how the curious date A.M. 4231 or A.D. 471 was arrived at, and such a date certainly achieved the aim of postponing the year when the Messiah was expected far into the future.[66] Whether the other date of A.M. 4000 or A.D. 240 was also, at any stage, linked with Daniel's 70 Weeks, we do not know, since it was not arrived at in the same manner. However, 70 weeks ending then would have begun in 251 B.C., and this could have been regarded as the time of the repairs to the city and Temple carried out by the high priest Simon the Just (Sir.50:1-4), whose era was only known imprecisely, in ancient as in modern times.[67]

5. *Pharisaic Computation (Zealot Revolt)*

In the form in which we have it in Seder Olam Rabbah, the interpretation of the 70 Weeks as ending in A.D. 68 is non-messianic. This may, however, simply be due to the fact that Seder Olam Rabbah was revised with the benefit of hindsight. Its chronological scheme, as we have seen, goes back to the time of the Assumption of Moses, and it may originally have dated the coming of the Messiah between the end of the 69th and the end of the 70th year-weeks, i.e. between A.D. 61 and 68. This possibility becomes a probability when one notes that it was within that period that the great Zealot revolt broke out (namely in A.D. 66), and that the Zealot revolt was dominated by messianic expectation. The Old Testament prophecy that most influenced the Zealots, Josephus tells us, foretold that "at that time someone from their country should become ruler of the world" (*War* 6:5:4, or 6:312), and he adds that many of the sages supported the Zealot interpretation. There can be little doubt that this prophecy comes from Daniel (and not, as has sometimes been supposed, from Num. 24:17-19), since it was to be fulfilled at a stated time; for Daniel, as Josephus explains, "was not only accustomed to prophesy future things, as did the other prophets, but he also fixed the time at which these would come to pass" (*Antiquities* 10:11:7, or 10:267). However, since the prophecy in question is a prophecy of universal

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[66] Paul Volz (*Jüdische Eschatologie von Daniel bis Akiba*, Tübingen: Mohr, 1903, p. 170) explains the date A.M. 4231 as the end of 400 years of bondage, like those of Gen. 15:13, after the destruction of the Temple in A.M. 3828 (A.D. 68/70). The discrepancy here is only of three years, but the calculation would have had to be made after A.D. 70, whereas we have seen that the date A.M. 4231 is already reflected in the Assumption of Moses.

[67] Josephus identifies him with Simon I, c. 300 B.C. (*Antiquities* 12:2:5, or 12:43; 12:4:1, or 12:157). The rabbinical literature appears to identify him with Simon II, c. 200 B.C. Modern scholars incline to the latter identification, though not unanimously. For a discussion, see Ralph Marcus's appendix in the Loeb edition of Josephus, vol. 7, pp. 732-36.

dominion (again unlike Num. 24:17-19), it seems most likely to be the Son of Man prophecy of Dan. 7:13, which Josephus, like other Pharisees, evidently interpreted of an individual (compare Bab. Sanhedrin 98a etc.), as the Zealots may also have done. The time when the Son of Man prophecy was to be fulfilled was somewhat general, namely, during the fourth world-empire; though Josephus, again like other Pharisees, took the fourth world-empire to be Rome, as is clear from his cautious language about its destruction (*Antiquities* 10:10:4, or 10:209-210); and the Zealots, once more, may well have done the same. This does not explain why the Zealots rebelled just when they did. However, we shall see below that Josephus probably related the Son of Man prophecy to Daniel's other prophecy about "the anointed one, the prince", and if the Zealots did this too, their precise dating of the Messiah's coming, not just within the period of the fourth world-empire but about A.D. 66, would have been due to the prophecy of the 70 Weeks, interpreted (in accordance with Seder Olam Rabbah) as running from 423 B.C. to A.D. 68, with the last week beginning in A.D. 61. This adoption of Pharisaic computation by the Zealots is entirely in harmony with Josephus's statement that, except on the issue of rebellion, the Zealots agreed with the Pharisees (*Antiquities* 18:1:6, or 18:23). Though some of the Essenes also participated in Zealot activities, it looks as if Josephus is right in saying that Pharisaic beliefs predominated in their counsels.

6. *Hellenistic/Pharisaic Computation (Josephus)*

We discussed on pp. 254-256 Josephus's general chronology, and noted that he makes the dates of the Exodus and the beginning of the Exile somewhat later than his Hellenistic predecessors. His modest amendments of the figures are not without their significance. They show that he did not identify Daniel's "anointed one" with Onias III, as Pseudo-Demetrius had done. 69 or 70 weeks (483-490 years) from 640 B.C., as the beginning of the Exile, bring one not to 171 B.C. but to 157-150 B.C., the period during which the first of the Maccabaean high priests, Jonathan, assumed the high priesthood, as he did in 152 B.C. Josephus, who was proud of his own kinship with the Maccabaean high priests (*Life* 1:1-6), could conceivably have identified Jonathan with "the anointed one, the prince", especially as Jonathan was "cut off" by a violent death. However, when recounting the story of Jonathan in his *War* and his *Antiquities*, Josephus never says that his elevation was a fulfilment of prophecy, as one would expect him to do;[68] and elsewhere he

[68] The speculation of Arnold Ehrhardt (*The Apostolic Succession*, London: Lutterworth, 1953, pp. 51-53) that there existed ancient chronologies, obscurely reflected in Josephus's figures, which ended the 70 Weeks in 152 B.C. and in 95 B.C. respectively, appears to be completely groundless. There is nothing peculiar about the figures he refers to, which are based either on history or on Josephus's general chronology.

gives more than a hint of a different interpretation. This is in *Antiquities* 10:11:7, or 10:276, where, after describing the prophecy in Daniel 8, and explaining it of the Persians, the Greeks and Antiochus Epiphanes, he goes on to say, "In the same manner Daniel also wrote about the empire of the Romans, and that Jerusalem would be taken by them and the Temple desolated." Not only the position of this statement but its language (even allowing for some uncertainty in the text) suggest that it refers to Daniel 9, and if so it means that for Josephus the 70 Weeks ended in A.D. 70. Consequently, they would have begun in 421 B.C., which is awkwardly long after Josephus's dates for the Exile (640-570 B.C.); one would expect "the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem" to have gone forth sooner. However, it has often been observed that Josephus's post-exilic chronology, though over-long in terms of years, is awkwardly contracted in terms of generations: he makes Alexander the Great a contemporary of the high priest Jaddua, who is only the great-grandson of Nehemiah's contemporary Eliashib (*Antiquities* 11:5:5, or 11:158; 11:7:1f., or 11:297, 302; 11:8:1-5, or 11:304-339). This is probably not because he has any tradition that Nehemiah, or Ezra, laboured in the time of Artaxerxes II not Artaxerxes I, as has sometimes been supposed, but because he feels the need to bring the rebuilding of Jerusalem by Nehemiah within the compass of the 490 years. To effect this, nothing more may have seemed necessary than to identify different high priests of the same name as being the same people.[69]

Who, then, does Josephus take to be "the anointed one, the prince" who came at the end of the 70 Weeks, between A.D. 63 and 70? In *War* 6:5:4, or 6:312, he interprets the Son of Man who comes in the fourth world-empire and becomes ruler of the world (Dan. 7:13) as the emperor Vespasian. The date is exactly right for "the anointed one, the prince" to be interpreted in the same way. However, Vespasian was not "cut off", as the "anointed one" was, so can hardly have been viewed by Josephus as fitting this role also. On the other hand, there was a contemporary of Vespasian's who fitted the role very well, the former high priest Ananus, who was murdered by the Idumaeans in the Temple in A.D. 66. Josephus lays great stress upon the murder of Ananus, and, as F. F. Bruce points out,[70] speaks of him in this significant way: "I should not be wrong in saying that the capture of the city began with the death of Ananus; and that the overthrow of the walls and the

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[69] Which is what Josephus actually did, according to the plausible contention of F. M. Cross Jr. (*art. cit.* in note 22).

[70] "Josephus and Daniel", in *Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute*, vol. 4 (1965), p. 154. Bruce goes on (p. 158) to suggest that Josephus may have identified "the anointed one" of the previous verse with Vespasian, but it is unlikely that two references to an "anointed one" in successive verses, and understood to refer to the same period of history, would have been interpreted by Josephus as meaning two different people, especially as no such distinction was made in the Greek translations he knew or in ancient Jewish exegesis.

downfall of the Jewish state dated from the day on which the Jews beheld their high priest, the captain of their salvation, butchered in the heart of Jerusalem... But it was, I suppose, because God had, for its pollutions, condemned the city to destruction and desired to purge the sanctuary by fire, that he thus cut off those who clung to them with such tender affection" (*War* 4:5:2, or 4:318, 323, Thackeray's translation).

The connection made here between the "cutting off" of the anointed high priest and the "destruction" of the "city" and "sanctuary" is exactly parallel to what we find in Dan. 9:26, and may safely be regarded as Josephus's interpretation of the prophecy. Consequently, although Josephus, like the Pharisees and unlike the Hellenists, makes the 70 Weeks end in A.D. 70, he probably opts in the end for a non-messianic interpretation of the "anointed one" – not, indeed, the non-messianic interpretation which earlier Hellenism had favoured, the high priest Onias III, but a similar one, the high priest Ananus.

Did Josephus, then, not believe in a Messiah? It is unnecessary to draw this conclusion. He could hardly have regarded the Old Testament promises to the tribe of Judah and the house of David as fulfilled in Vespasian or Ananus, and there are other explicit Old Testament references to a (possibly future) "anointed one" besides Daniel 9: for example Pss. 2:2; 45:7, and Isa. 61:1. Moreover, in the Arabic translation of the Testimonium Flavianum (*Antiquities* 18:3:3, or 18:63f.) provided by Agapius, to which attention has been drawn by Shlomo Pines,[71] and which has not undergone the Christianizing revision that the Greek text reflects, Josephus says of Jesus: "He was perhaps the Messiah, of whom the prophets have recounted wonders". If some such phrase occurred in the original, it would mean that Josephus did believe in a Messiah, but that, because he did not refer Daniel 9 to the Messiah, he had no definite information as to when the Messiah was to be expected.

7. *Pharisaic Computation (2 Esdras & Pseudo-Philo)*

Up to A.D. 70, the different Pharisaic dates for the coming of the Messiah, and the different reckonings of the 70 Weeks which they implied, must have existed among the rabbis as three rival interpretations. After A.D. 70, however, when the Messiah had not come as expected, but the desolation also foretold in Daniel 9 (verses 26-27) had, it was natural both to tie the end of the 70 Weeks to A.D. 70 and also to adopt a non-messianic interpretation of the prophecy. This is precisely what we find in Seder Olam Rabbah. *Adaptations* of the A.D. 70 expectation of the Messiah were still possible,

[71] *An Arabic Version of the Testimonium Flavianum and its Implications* (Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1971).

and the Bar Kokba movement, as we shall see, reflects a very important adaptation of it. A more curious one is found in a story recorded in Lamentations Rabbah 1:16(51) and elsewhere, according to which the Messiah did indeed come, as a baby, at the time of the destruction of the Temple, but was carried off by a whirlwind. One way or another, the idea that Daniel contained the date of the Messiah survived (Bab. Megillah 3a).

Apart from such adaptations, the dates of A.M. 4000 (A.D. 240) and A.M. 4231 (A.D. 471) for the coming of the Messiah[72] became the only ones still current, but, as the 70 Weeks were now tied to the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70, the rival interpretations of the 70 Weeks associated with these other dates were dropped, and the dates were simply retained by themselves, as unexplained traditions.

In two works usually dated at the end of the first century A.D., 2 Esdras (4 Ezra) and the *Biblical Antiquities* of Pseudo-Philo, the two Pharisaic dates still current for the coming of the Messiah are duly reflected, one of them in each work. 2 Esdras 14:10-12 says that at the time of writing - supposedly 30 years after the destruction of the First Temple (2 Esdras 3:1) - 9½ twelfths have elapsed of the period from the beginning to the end of the world. The fraction is doubtless only approximate, but since, according to Seder Olam Rabbah, 30 years after the destruction of the First Temple is A.M. 3368, the 12 twelfths expire in A.M. 4254, only 23 years after A.M. 4231 (A.D. 471), when the Messiah is imminent. Pseudo-Philo states that the world will last 4000 years (i.e. until the coming of the Messiah, in A.M. 4000 or A.D. 240), and that 4½ sevenths of this period had elapsed by the death of Moses (*Biblical Antiquities* 19:15; 28:8). As Seder Olam Rabbah dates Moses's death in A.M. 2488, the fraction here is less accurate than that in 2 Esdras, implying a date for his death about 84 years too late, but since *4* sevenths would be about 202 years too early, there is no strong reason to think that the discrepancy is a significant one. It should be mentioned that the Talmudic baraita which dates the Messiah's coming in A.M. 4000 adds that the world will last a further 2,000 years after his coming, making 6,000 in all; but whether these further 2,000 years were part of the expectation current in the time of Pseudo-Philo is uncertain, and whether yet another 1,000 years, making up a week of millennia, were also part (as is often assumed) is even more doubtful. The week of millennia, though there is one baraita in the Babylonian Talmud which speaks of it (Sanhedrin 97a), is on the whole a Christian conception rather than a Jewish, and is based by Christians on a non-Pharisaic chronology.

[72] See pp. 239-240, note 30; pp. 264-265, 274.

8. *HELLENISTIC/PHARISAIC COMPUTATION (THE ALEXANDRIAN REVOLT)*

Though Josephus did not himself date the Messiah's coming, it is possible that other Jews, by the aid of his chronology, did. In Josephus's chronology, there are three simple ways of reckoning up the years from the Exodus to the destruction of the Second Temple in A.D. 70, according to which they total 1722½, 1742½ or 1771½ years. If the first figure is discounted, as not including the 20 years between the commencement and the dedication of the First Temple (see 1 Kings 6-9), which may lie between the 592 years and the 1130½ years, of which it is made up, there is a choice between 1742½ years and 1771½ years.[73] Now, the Assumption of Moses, as we have seen, states that God will intervene on behalf of his people "250 times" or year-weeks (i.e. 1,750 years) after the death of Moses. The Assumption of Moses has its own (Pharisaic) date for the death of Moses, but Josephus, though he had gone over to the Romans, was also a Pharisee, and at the end of the first century he was the latest authority on Jewish chronology. Moreover, to Jews of the Dispersion he would have had the additional attraction that he wrote in Greek. An Alexandrian Jew of that period, working with Josephus's figure of 1742½ years, and deducting 40 years to bring it down from the Exodus to the death of Moses, would be left with the figure of 1702½ years from Moses's death to A.D. 70. The intervention of God would be due 47½ years later, that is, in A.D. 117 or 118. It may be coincidence, but then again it may not, that the second great Jewish revolt against the Romans took place in Egypt, Cyrenaica and Cyprus from A.D. 115 to 117. Eusebius records that "In Alexandria and the rest of Egypt, and in Cyrene as well, a violent spirit of revolt, so to speak, fanned their passions into flame, so that they rushed into an open rising" (*Ecclesiastical History* 4:2:2, Lawlor and Oulton's translation). As in A.D. 66, this spirit may have been fostered by eschatological expectations, and, as then, it led (after some initial successes) to the slaughtering of vast numbers of Jews and a grievous worsening of their conditions in the Roman Empire.

9. *PHARISAIC COMPUTATION (THE BAR KOKBA REVOLT)*

The third and last of the great Jewish revolts was that led by Bar Koziba or "Bar Kokba" and supported by the famous Pharisee Rabbi Akiba, which lasted from A.D. 132 to 135. Bar Kokba, as the name by which he is best known seems to indicate, was regarded by his followers as the "Son of a

[73] See Table II on pp. 258-259. This reasoning assumes that the figure 1130½ is indeed what Josephus wrote, though an amendment to 1180½ would fit his other figures much better. It is in fact probable that Josephus's three suspect figures of 4513½ (for 4213½), 3102 (for 3702) and 1130½ (for 1180½) are simple errors of arithmetic on his part, for, though in each case only one digit is wrong, the right digit is not one which would look like the other to a copyist.

Star", that is, the Messiah, the title being drawn from the promise of Num. 24:17-19. It can hardly be coincidence that this revolt happened about 70 years after the revolt of A.D. 66. On Pharisaic chronology, the 69th of Daniel's 70 Weeks ended in A.D. 61, so the Messiah was imminently expected between then and A.D. 68. However, the expectation was disappointed. Why? Could it be because they were reckoning the 70 Weeks from the beginning of the Exile instead of from the end of it? The Essenes very plausibly argued that the starting point for the prophecy was the end of the Exile, and, since the Exile lasted 70 years, this would mean that they ought to be expecting the Messiah between A.D. 131 and 138 instead - the very time when Bar Kokba rebelled. In the event, expectation was again disappointed and the revolt suppressed in a way which made this the last messianic movement among the Jews for many generations. Even when messianic movements did again appear, they never drew the support of the mass of the nation in the way they had done in the first and second centuries. Not surprisingly, therefore, it is after the time of the suppression of the Bar Kokba revolt that the Jewish reaction against the messianic interpretation of Daniel's 70-Weeks prophecy seems to have set in.

10. *Early Christian Computation*

However, where Jews left off, Christians took over. After a somewhat uncertain second-century beginning in Epistle of Barnabas 16 and Irenaeus, *Against Heresies* 5:25:4, Christian exegesis begins in earnest at the outset of the third century to expound the 70 Weeks as weeks of years leading up to the coming of the Messiah Jesus and the destruction of Jerusalem which followed, and to produce supporting computations, such as are found in Tertullian, *Against the Jews* 8; Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* 1:21:122-27, 146; Julius Africanus, *Chronography*; Hippolytus, *Easter Table; Commentary on Daniel* 4:30-32. All these were written between about A.D. 193 and 235. In each case the computation is of Hellenistic origin, and in some cases is based on more accurate figures than had been available to the Jews.

Tertullian holds that the 70 Weeks begin with the year of Daniel's prophecy, the first year of Darius the Mede, and end with the destruction of Jerusalem by Vespasian. His figures are sound, but he confuses Darius the Mede (who must have been a contemporary of Cyrus, or identical with him) with Darius II Nothus, who lived over a century later, ascending the throne in 423 B.C. Clement of Alexandria ends the 70 Weeks at the same point, or it may be at Vespasian's death, but he begins them at the resumption of the rebuilding of the Temple in the second year of Darius I (520 B.C.). How, if at all, he copes with the discrepancy of 100 or more years in the total period

is not clear.[74] Julius Africanus is the most subtle of these writers, and clearly states the chronological problem. His answer is to begin the 70 Weeks with the mission of Nehemiah in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes I (444 B.C.) and to end them with the death of Christ in the sixteenth year of Tiberius (A.D. 30). He reckons this period with fair precision at 475 years, but argues that it must be counted as 490 years because the Jewish lunar year is about 11 days shorter than the true solar year (though he admits that it is brought into line with the solar year about every 3 years by an additional month)! Hippolytus also faces the problem, but has no answer to it. In his *Easter Table* he reckons the years by two methods, one of them "according to Daniel", the other being common chronology. In his chronological treatise *Liber Generationis* he reckons by the latter method, and his figures are often higher than those of Josephus.[75] In his *Commentary on Daniel*, however, he reckons by the former method, beginning the 70 Weeks with the year of Daniel's prophecy and ending the 69th week with the birth of Christ.

In one respect, the interpretations of Clement and Hippolytus are particularly significant. Clement and Hippolytus are the first writers to maintain that the prophecy envisages two "anointed ones", after the 7 weeks and after the 62 weeks respectively. Clement's words are these: "That the Temple accordingly was build in seven weeks is evident, for it is written in Esdras. And thus an anointed one became king of the Jews, reigning in Jerusalem in the fulfilment of the seven weeks" (*Stromata* 1:21:126). Hippolytus is more explicit: "He (i.e. Daniel) proceeds thus, 'Unto the anointed one the prince shall be seven weeks,' which makes forty-nine years... Now, of what anointed one does he speak, but of Jeshua the son of Jozadak?" (*Commentary on Daniel* 4:30). Neither Clement nor Hippolytus appears to have understood Hebrew, and there was no hint of a break between the 7 and the 62 weeks or of an earlier anointed one in any of the Greek translations of Daniel which they used. They were, however, the most learned Christians of their day, and they lived in two cities (Alexandria and Rome) which were in constant contact in Roman times through commerce, and in the latter of which at least there was a high concentration of Jews. (Indeed, the Jewish community in Alexandria also may have begun to recover, after the suppression of their revolt, by the early third century.) Clement was writing between the death of the Emperor Commodus and that

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[74] For a discussion, see Osvalda Andrei, "Contributo allo studio di *Stromateis* 1:21", in *Quaderni di Sandalion*, no. 6 (1990).

[75] See Table I on p. 257. For discussions of the chronological systems of Julius Africanus and Hippolytus, see J. H. Gelzer, *Sextus Julius Africanus und die byzantinische Chronographie* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1880-1898); Rudolf Helm, ed., *Hippolytus, Die Chronik* (Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller 46, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1955); and George Salmon's articles "Africanus" and "Chronicon Canisianum" in Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*.

of Severus, i.e. between A.D. 193 and 211, and Hippolytus not later than about A.D. 235. It seems likely, therefore, that between the Bar Kokba revolt (A.D. 132-135) and about the end of the second century, a disillusioned Judaism had reacted against the messianic interpretation of the 70-Weeks prophecy, and had devised the interpretation reflected in the Massoretic punctuation, with two anointed ones at different eras, the first being Jeshua the son of Jozadak and the second either Ananus (as suggested by Josephus) or perhaps Phanni (high priest at the date when the Temple was overthrown). This interpretation had then come to the ears of Clement and Hippolytus, and though they had continued to interpret the prophecy messianically, they had introduced into their interpretation the new feature of a different anointed one after the first 7 weeks.

What is one to think of all this? Certain conclusions, at least, may be drawn:

(I) There is a curious contrast between the imprecision of the figures in the 70-Weeks prophecy and the over-precision of all its old interpreters, Jewish and Christian alike, from the second century B.C. onwards. Whether they interpreted the prophecy messianically or non-messianically, they could seldom make the figures fit, according to their own standards of precision, except by arbitrary interpretation of the prophecy or by arbitrary manipulation of history. It is as if the prophecy and its interpreters belonged to two different ages or environments.

(II) Thus, Jeremiah's 70 years, from which the prophecy takes its cue (Dan. 9:2), were less than precise, extending in reality from about 597 to about 538 B.C. The first 7 year-weeks, if they refer to the period of rebuilding, are imprecise, extending in fact from about 537 to about 445 B.C. The remaining 62 year-weeks are imprecise, extending about 123 years too far if they are to end with Onias III, and falling short by upwards of 44 years if they are to end with the coming of Christ and the destruction of Jerusalem by Vespasian. If the 70 year-weeks are made to start from the beginning of the Exile, not the end (which itself is an arbitrary judgment), the figures remain, for the most part, very imprecise. By contrast, the Essene, Hellenistic, Pharisaic and early Christian chronological schemes aim at precision, and even when they have to be content with approximation, this is not for want of trying to achieve exactness.

(III) We now possess, in some of the Essene writings, works emanating from apocalyptic circles in Palestine at about the middle of the second century B.C.—the very setting in which Daniel is widely believed to have been composed. It is therefore noteworthy that, had the 70-Weeks prophecy been regarded in these circles as a prophecy after the event, relating to the murder of Onias III, they could by the use of their chronological scheme

have provided it with a much more accurate date than 483-490 years after the Exile; but that in point of fact they did not regard it as a fulfilled prophecy but as one yet to be fulfilled and did not relate it to Onias III but to the Davidic Messiah.[76]

(IV) These considerations do not make easier but more difficult the problem of the origin of the Book of Daniel. Nevertheless, they are among the data which, especially since the Qumran discoveries, have been accumulating to necessitate a reconsideration of the common Maccabaean dating of that book.

(V) The messianic interpretation of the 70-Weeks prophecy, which prevailed both in ancient Judaism and in early Christianity, has the advantage of giving full weight to the tremendous promises with which the prophecy is introduced in its first verse (Dan. 9:24). Moreover, if the 70 year-weeks are interpreted, in conformity with the 70 years of Jeremiah and the first 7 year-weeks, as *approximate* (and more approximate because of the much greater length of time involved), the period given agrees well enough with a fulfilment between 10 B.C. and A.D. 70, in accordance with the many Jewish and Christian interpretations which sought its fulfilment between those years.

(VI) The prophecy was of course intended quite as much for those living around the time of its fulfilment as for us today, and though the ancient messianic interpretations were over-precise, and were based on inadequate chronological information, yet this does not mean that they were necessarily wrong in concentrating men's thoughts on the general period of the coming of Jesus and the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans.

[76] See Table I on p. 257, and also pp. 232-234.

CHAPTER NINE

THE DATE OF THE CRUCIFIXION: THE MISUSE OF CALENDARS AND ASTRONOMY TO DETERMINE THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE PASSION

The simplicity, clarity and convenience of having a single system of chronology for world history is something which is tacitly confessed by the general and long-standing acceptance of such a system, though its benefits are more often taken for granted than explicitly recognised. It is true that, from one point of view, the introduction of our present Christian system of chronology by Dionysius Exiguus in the sixth century A.D., and its subsequent adoption world-wide, was only a natural sequel to the conversion of the Roman Empire. Nevertheless, the system has served mankind well, and still does; so much so, that even those who do not acknowledge the central place of Jesus Christ in world history remain glad to use it (sometimes under an adapted nomenclature) for ordinary purposes; and even the discovery that Dionysius placed the transition between B.C. and A.D. a few years too late has simply been accepted as a fact, without any serious attempt being made to modify (still less to supersede) his system.

Chronologies and Calendars in the Ancient World

The very different situation that obtained at the beginning of the Christian era is lucidly outlined in the opening chapters of Professor Jack Finegan's *Handbook of Biblical Chronology* (Princeton: The University Press, 1964). A variety of eras then served as reference-points for chronology. Among others, there were the Greek Olympiads (four-year periods, dating from an early celebration of the Olympic Games in what we call 776 B.C.), the era of the foundation of the city of Rome (which the learned Roman historian Varro had placed in the year 753 B.C.), the Seleucid era (dating from the victory of Seleucus I, the founder of the Greek dynasty in Syria, at the Battle of Gaza, 312 B.C.) and the era of the creation of the world (which the rabbinical chronicle Seder Olam Rabbah fixed at about 3761 B.C.).[1] Often, however, years were identified in a different manner, from the accession of a

[1] Most of the Jewish and early Christian chronologies discussed in the previous chapter agree with Seder Olam Rabbah in beginning from the creation, though they disagree a good deal as to when the creation should be reckoned to have taken place.

particular ruler or official, and it is in this way that the beginning of the ministry of John the Baptist is dated in Luke 3:1f. In. either case, a modern student needs to determine how the years are being counted, i.e. at what season does the new year begin? and does the numbering start from the year in which the great event occurred or the ruler took office, or from the first complete year after it? And then again, he needs to investigate how the year itself is being reckoned, and what calendar is being used. Is it a lunar calendar of 354 days, or a solar calendar of something around 365 days? and is it an exact calendar, fixed by careful astronomical calculation, or an approximate calendar, intended for practical utility rather than scientific precision? Only when all these considerations have been taken into account can one begin to transpose the chronological information given by ancient writings into terms of our own chronology, and one must not be surprised if the conclusions that are reached are at best probable rather than certain, especially when one is trying to fix the month or the day of a particular occurrence, as well as the year.

The development of a scientifically exact calendar occurred in different nations at different periods, according to the rate at which the study of astronomy advanced there, and gained acceptance for its findings. In the lands of the Bible, Babylon and Egypt were the countries where astronomy was earliest studied, but Greece had caught up by the fifth century B.C., when the Greek astronomer Meton devised or adopted the 19-year cycle (afterwards refined by Callippus and Hipparchus) for reconciling the lunar year to the solar; though in practice Greece continued to use a less accurate 8-year cycle. Since twelve lunar months amount to only about 354⅓ days, the lunar calendar has to be adjusted periodically to the solar year of about 365¼ days, by the addition of a thirteenth month, so as to keep it in line with the seasons. Originally this was done irregularly, whenever it was seen to be necessary from the lateness of the seasons, but the 19-year cycle (adopted also by the Babylonians in about the fifth century B.C.) made it possible to add the thirteenth month at fixed intervals, and to settle in advance the leap-years in which it needed to be added.

Babylon and Greece both used a lunar calendar, adjusted in the way described, and lunar calendars also existed in Egypt. There, however, an important solar (or stellar) calendar also existed, governed by the heliacal rising of the dog-star, i.e. its rising in proximity to the rising sun. Since Egypt is a flat country with a true horizon, the heliacal rising of the brightest of the stars was easily seen, and from very early times Egyptian astronomers noted that it happened about every 365 days. The 365-day calendar based on this fact was not, of course, absolutely exact, and in 238 B.C. one of the Greek kings of Egypt, Ptolemy Euergetes I, issued his Decree of Canopus, proposing the addition of a day to every fourth year, so as to rectify the

discrepancy. The reform was not actually adopted, however, until between 30 and 26 B.C., by which time a solar calendar based on similar principles had also been introduced at Rome. This was the famous Julian calendar, introduced by Julius Caesar in 46 B.C. under the guidance of the Egyptian astronomer Sosigenes, and it was sufficiently accurate to retain its place, without amendment, down to the sixteenth century A.D.[2]

It so happens that the chronological records of Babylon, Egypt and Greece are remarkably full. So, with the aid of their relatively accurate calendars, the transposition of their statements into terms of the familiar Roman calendar and Christian system of chronology is fairly straightforward. Additional checks are provided when the records mention astronomical phenomena, since it is possible for modern astronomers to calculate with a high degree of accuracy the dates when such phenomena must have occurred. Roman chronological records are also full, and after the introduction of the accurate Julian calendar the chronology of Roman history can be established with considerable exactness.[3]

The Jewish Calendar: Scientific or Practical?

Since this was the situation in Babylon, Egypt, Greece and Rome by beginning of the Christian era, it is not unnatural to assume that the situation was the same in Palestine. After all, Palestine was now within the Roman Empire, and it had previously been under the authority of Greeks—the Greek rulers of Syria and the Greek rulers of Egypt; and (at a more remote period) it had been part of the empire of Babylon. From their exile in Babylon, indeed, the Jews had brought back the Babylonian names for the months, which are found in the latest books of the Old Testament and subsequent Jewish literature. Is it then not likely that, from one or other of these sources, they had also acquired a sufficient knowledge of astronomy to regulate their calendar, and consequently their chronology, with precision?

This inviting presumption is actually made by many writers on New Testament chronology, and it has the great convenience that it enables one to maximize on the rather scanty chronological data which the New Testament provides. The tables of new moons, new years and leap-years in antiquity which have been compiled by Parker and Dubberstein for Babylon,[4] and

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[2] On the Babylonian, Egyptian, Greek and Roman calendars, see also pp. 95-98, pp. 133-134, and the literature cited there in notes 1 and 67.

[3] On all this, see P. R. S. Moorey, *Excavation in Palestine* (Guildford: Lutterworth, 1981), ch. 5, "Establishing Time Scales".

[4] R. A. Parker and W. H. Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology 626 B.C. - A.D. 75* (revised edition, Brown University Studies 19, Providence R.I.: Brown University Press, 1956).

which have been calculated by Ginzel for Israel,[5] can then be applied to the events recorded in the New Testament without further ado. All that is necessary is to allow for the fact that the new moon was visible in Jerusalem 37 minutes before it was visible in Babylon, so that on occasion the Jewish month would have begun a day earlier.[6]

In reality, however, such a procedure involves a great fallacy. We saw earlier that from about the fifth century B.C. onwards the Babylonians employed the 19-year cycle for reconciling the lunar year with the solar. Aided by this, they were able to make an accurate calculation of new moons, new years and leap-years, and to fix them accordingly. Hence Parker and Dubberstein's tables. Nowadays the Jews also use, for religious purposes, the 19-year cycle, and by working backwards from modern times Ginzel was able to calculate how, on the principles of this cycle, the Jewish new moons, new years and leap-years would have fallen in antiquity. What needs to be realised, however, is that Ginzel's tables are largely theoretical, and that to treat them as historical is to ignore the clear evidence that the Jews did not use such a cycle until several centuries after the beginning of the Christian era.

This evidence is partly Jewish and partly Christian. The Jewish evidence is mainly found in the rabbinical literature, of which the earliest substantial parts to be written down were the Mishnah, the Tosephta, the Halakic Midrashim (such as Mekilta), and the quotations called baraitas, cited from earlier compilations at many places in the two Talmuds. This part of the rabbinical literature probably dates from about A.D. 200-300, though, as it is a record of oral tradition, it speaks for an earlier period too, and sometimes reaches back to the first century A.D. and even before that. From these sources we learn that the Jewish months, years and festivals were fixed not by calculation in advance but by continual observation. The beginning of each month was announced when the new moon was sighted in Palestine; and in months containing festivals, once the witnesses had given their reports and the announcement had been made, messengers were sent out to inform the Jews of the Dispersion (M. Rosh ha-Shanah 1-2). The addition of a thirteenth month to the year depended likewise upon observation, this time upon observing whether signs of spring had appeared or not: if they had not, the thirteenth month was added, and once again messengers were sent out to the Jews of the Dispersion to inform them of the fact (Tos. Sanhedrin 2:2-7, 12; Mekilta, Pisha 2; baraitas in Bab Sanhedrin 11a-13b).

The Christian evidence to the same effect relates to the fixing of Easter. When Christians first began to observe Easter, they evidently fixed it by

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[5] F. K. Ginzel, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1906-1914).

[6] *op. cit.* in note 4, p. 25.

working from the Jewish reckoning of the Passover, on Nisan 14. About A.D. 190 there was a sharp controversy among Christians, the Quartodeciman Controversy, on the question whether to observe Easter on the Sunday after Nisan 14 or on Nisan 14 itself, but both parties to the controversy based their reckoning on the date when the Jews were observing the Passover, which they had first to enquire or discover from the Jews. This gave rise to the mocking taunt from the Jewish side that Christians could not fix Easter without their help. In reply, third-century Christians began to calculate the date of Easter astronomically—first Hippolytus of Rome, adapting the old Greek 8-year cycle, and then Anatolius of Alexandria, using the more accurate 19-year cycle; and the influential churches of Rome and Alexandria were among the first to adopt the new method. This, however, gave rise to the second Christian Easter controversy, which was settled in principle at the great council of Nicaea in A.D. 325, whether to fix Easter by astronomical calculation or to continue holding it on the Sunday after the Jewish Passover. The decision was in favour of the new method, though the old one lingered on for a time in the East.[7] Now, if the Jews had already been calculating the Passover by the 19-year cycle, this second Easter controversy could hardly have arisen, and certainly not in the form in which it did, since both parties would in principle have been agreed.

It seems, in fact, that the Jews did not begin to calculate the date of the Passover astronomically, or to employ the 19-year cycle for this purpose, until between the fourth and the seventh century A.D.[8] If this appears surprising, one should recall the stubborn and commendable independence of the Jews in religious matters, which naturally made them slow to adopt either the conclusions or the methods of pagan or Christian scientists.

Of course, the most responsible writers on New Testament chronology are well aware that in the first century the Jewish year was governed by observation and not by calculation. Nevertheless, they often seem unconscious of the degree of irregularity which the old Jewish method of observation could introduce; and this affects the dating of the most important of all first-century events, the death and resurrection of Jesus. George Ogg, author of two standard works in this general field, *The Chronology of the Public Ministry of Jesus* (1940) and *The Chronology of the Life of Paul* (1968), when summing up his conclusions in the article on "Chronology of the New Testament" which he contributed to *The Illustrated Bible Dictionary* (Leicester: IVP, 1980), says that

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[7] The evidence about these two controversies and the distinction between them is set out in chapter 3.

[8] See B. Z. Wacholder and D. B. Weisberg, "Visibility of the New Moon in Cuneiform and Rabbinic Sources", in *Hebrew Union College Annual*, vol. 42 (1971), pp. 227-242. See also chapter 5.

> Of attempts to determine the year of the crucifixion the most fruitful is that made with the help of astronomy. According to all four Gospels, the crucifixion took place on a Friday, but whereas in the Synoptics that Friday is 15 Nisan, in John it is 14 Nisan. The problem then that has to be solved with the help of astronomy is that of determining in which of the years 26-36 the 14th and 15th Nisan fell on a Friday. But since in NT times the Jewish month was lunar and the time of its commencement was determined by observation of the new moon, this problem is basically that of determining when the new moon became visible. Studying this problem, Fotheringham and Schoch have each arrived at a formula by applying which they find that 15 Nisan was a Friday only in 27 and 14 Nisan a Friday only in 30 and 33. Since as the year of the crucifixion 27 is out of the question, the choice lies Nisan a Friday only in 30 and 33. Since as the year of the crucifixion 27 is out of the question, the choice lies between 30 (7 April) and 33 (3 April). .[9]

As will be noted, Ogg believes that astronomical and calendrical considerations (i) narrow down the possible years for the crucifixion to two, A.D. 30 and A.D. 33, (ii) fix the only date in each of those two years when it could have occurred, April 7th or April 3rd respectively, and (iii) exclude the Synoptic chronology of the Passion in favour of the so-called Johannine chronology. Using more refined criteria for determining the time when the new moon became visible at Jerusalem, C. J. Humphreys and W. G. Waddington have recently reached the same three conclusions.[10] While grateful for all further light which astronomy can provide, it is the contention of the present essay that, once the irregularities possible under the Jewish calendar have been appreciated, it will be seen that none of these three conclusions is legitimate.

Even that profound scholar of Judaism, Joachim Jeremias, who in his book *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus* has so thoroughly demonstrated to most people's minds that the Last Supper was an actual Passover meal, and has so fully answered the customary objections to this conclusion, creates unnecessary difficulties for his own case by his presentation of the astronomical evidence. He speaks of the uncertainty about which years had twelve months and which thirteen, with leap-years falling every two to three years on average, but says that the uncertainty is greatly reduced by "the rule that the passover must fall after the spring equinox";[11] and he concludes that the only possible year for the Passion in which there is much likelihood that Nisan 14 can have been a Thursday, in accordance with the Synoptic chronology, is A.D. 31, and only then provided it included a thirteenth

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[9] Vol 1, p 278f.

[10] "Dating the Crucifixion", in *Nature*, vol. 306 (Nov-Dec 1983), pp. 743-46. Also, "Astronomy and the Date of the Crucifixion", in *Chronos, Kairos, Christos*, ed. J. Vardaman & E. M. Yamauchi (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1989).

[11] E. T., pp. 36-41.

month, and the sighting of the new moon was delayed that year for a day by poor visibility.

The Passover and the Equinox

The alleged rule that the Passover must always fall after the spring equinox is so much taken for granted in discussions of the astronomical evidence that it calls for special attention. No doubt it is true that the Passover *usually* fell *at or* after the spring equinox (not necessarily after it), but was this an invariable rule? The proof which Jeremias offers is the fragment of Anatolius quoted by Eusebius in his *Ecclesiastical History* 7:32:13-19.[12] Anatolius was the third-century Father from Alexandria who taught Christians to use the 19-year cycle for calculating Easter. He was one of those responsible for introducing the present Christian rule that Easter must never fall before the spring equinox, and in his fragment he says that those who place "the first month" (Nisan) before it, "and determine the fourteenth day of the Pascha accordingly, are guilty of no small or ordinary mistake". It is not clear whether he is here criticising Jews or Christians or both, but he claims that the rule was known to "the Jews of old, even before Christ", and names Philo, Josephus, Musaeus, the two Agathobuli and Aristobulus in proof of his assertion, laying particular emphasis on the last named. The writings of the Agathobuli and (pseudo) Musaeus are lost to us, but it is likely that all these authors, with the partial exception of Josephus, were Hellenistic Jews, and we know that Philo and Aristobulus were Alexandrian Jews. Josephus merely says that the sun is in the sign of Aries at the Passover (*Antiquities* 3:10:5, or 3:248), which implies that the equinox is past, though he does not insist on the point. Philo more definitely says that Nisan commences with the spring equinox (*Questiones et Solutiones in Exodum* 1:1), which may reflect the fact that Alexandria was a centre of Greek learning, and Philo an ardent student of it; but the only one of these writers who is known to have insisted on the point, treating it as an invariable rule, is the other Alexandrian, Aristobulus. Aristobulus lived at Alexandria in the mid-second century B.C., and among his contemporaries living in the city was one of the greatest of Greek astronomers, Hipparchus, who perfected the 19-year cycle. The writings of Aristobulus, like those of Philo later, aimed to recommend Judaism by showing that it conformed to the highest standards of Greek wisdom. In the the situation he knew at Alexandria, it would have been natural for him to maintain that the Jewish year was truly scientific, in that it took as its invariable starting-point the spring equinox.

[12] *Eucharistic Words*, p. 37..

In Palestine however, as we have seen, the situation was quite different. Astronomy was not studied there, and the year was regulated not by calculation but by observation. It seems clear that the decision whether to add a thirteenth month to the old year was often taken without any attention to the equinox at all. In Mekilta (Pisha 2) the only factor considered is whether the first-ripe grain had appeared or not. The basis on which it founds this criterion is the old name for Nisan "Abib" (meaning the "first-ripe ear"), Abib being the month in which the Passover is commanded to be held in Deut. 16:1. If the first-ripe grain appears early, one must not lop off the twelfth month, we are told; but if it still being awaited, one must add on a thirteenth month.

Similarly, two letters to Jews of the Dispersion are preserved from the first and second centuries A.D., written by Rabban Gamaliel II and Rabban Simeon ben Gamaliel II respectively, to announce that the thirteenth month has been added, and neither letter refers to the equinox. The earlier of these letters runs:

> May your peace be great for ever! We beg to inform you that the turtledoves are still tender and the lambs too thin and that the first-ripe grain has not yet appeared. It seems advisable to me and my colleagues to add thirty days to this year.

Apart from the reference to the patriarch's "colleagues", the other letter is virtually identical, and an oral saying by the patriarch who sent it is also on record:

> He used to say: "In that the turtledoves are still tender and the spring-lambs too thin, it is advisable in my opinion to add thirty days to this year"[13]

The formula used in each of these places is probably an old one, since by the time of the two patriarchs in question the Temple had been destroyed, and though Passover lambs were still being killed (non-sacrificially), turtledoves were no longer being offered for the purification of the unclean. Consequently, the view of some that the letters were in fact written before the destruction of the Temple, by Rabban Gamaliel the Elder and Rabban Simeon ben Gamaliel I, is by no means impossible.

Be this as it may, there is reason to think that it was in the time of the latest of these patriarchs, Simeon ben Gamaliel II (mid-second century A.D.), that the Palestinian Jews first started to pay attention to the equinox. Simeon himself had the unusual reputation of having been trained in Greek

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[13] For the two letters and the saying, see Tos. Sanhedrin 2:5f; Bab Sanhedrin 11 a-b. The lambs would of course be needed for the Passover itself; the turtledoves would be needed to purify the unclean before they partook of the Passover (cp. Lev. 12:8; 14:22, 30; 15:14, 29; Num. 6:10); while the first-ripe grain would be needed for the offering of the Sheaf, during the festival of Unleavened Bread.

learning, and many of his reported sayings reflect scientific knowledge;[14] and in a passage which records that men rejoice when the premature state of the grain is one of the reasons for adding the thirteenth month,[15] the comment is made, "Rabban Simeon ben Gamaliel says, 'Also if it be the lateness of the *tekuphah*'" (Tos. Sanhedrin 2:2; baraita in Bab Sanhedrin 11b).[16] Certainly, the first rabbis on record as discussing the equinox, and believing that they could count the number of days before it would arrive, were contemporaries of Rabban Simeon in the mid-second century A.D., namely, Rabbi Judah ben Ilai, Rabbi Jose and Rabbi Simeon ben Yohai (Tos. Sanhedrin 2:7; Bab. Sanhedrin 12b-13b). The actual question they discuss is, how many days distant the equinox must be (whether sixteen or twenty) if the new year is to be delayed. Presumably, this knowledge of the equinox had been acquired from non-Jewish sources, but how accurately it had been acquired is open to question, since it is well known that inexact dates for the equinoxes and the solstices had wide currency in the early Christian centuries: as late as the fifth century A.D. the church of Rome, at the very heart of the Empire, was maintaining in opposition to the church of Alexandria that the spring equinox fell on March 18th and not March 21st.[17] Yet even after the attention of the rabbis started being paid to the equinox, they refused to treat the fact that it would fall after the Passover as an adequate reason in itself for adding the thirteenth month—there had to be an additional reason. The formula used is

> A year may be intercalated on three grounds: on account of the premature state of the corn-crops; or that of the fruit-trees; or the lateness of the *tekuphah*. On the basis of any two of these they may intercalate, but not one only (Tos. Sanhedrin 2:2; baraita in Bab Sanhedrin 11b).

But since the decision whether to add the thirteenth month was often taken without any attention being paid to the equinox, and since, when attention was paid to it, it was not allowed to be the sole determining factor, it is inevitable that, at times when spring weather came early, the new year must often have been announced without waiting for the approach of the equinox. That this actually happened is proved by a Christian work produced in Syria in the latter half of the fourth century, the so-called Apostolic Canons. Syria was one of the three regions in the East where, at the time of the Council of

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[14] See the article "Simeon (ben Gamaliel II)", in *The Jewish Encyclopedia*

[15] As the new grain was not to be eaten until after the Sheaf was offered, men were sorry for the offering of the Sheaf to be delayed on any grounds other than the premature state of the crop.

[16] The *tekuphah* is the new season or quarter, beginning with one of the equinoxes or solstices.

[17] See C. J. Hefele, *A History of the Christian Councils*, E.T., vol. I, p. 328f. Owing to the precession of the equinoxes, the spring equinox was moving very slowly forward to an earlier date, but Rome was well ahead of its true position.

Nicaea (A.D. 325), Easter was still being held on the Sunday after the Jewish Passover instead of being calculated astronomically.[18] Syria was also, of course, a country adjacent to Palestine, and it was heavily populated by Jews, so that it was easy there to discover the date each year when the Passover would fall; and the old custom was consequently still persisting sufficiently strongly, when the Apostolic Canons were written, to call forth the following denunciation:

> If any bishop, presbyter or deacon shall celebrate the holy day of the Pascha before the spring equinox, with the Jews, let him be deposed (Canon 7).[19]

It is clear from the language here used that the Jews of that time held the Passover before the spring equinox often enough for this to have come to be regarded as a characteristic Jewish practice.

But if the Passover not infrequently fell before the spring equinox, this at once opens new possibilities for the dates of Christ's death and resurrection. It means in particular that, working from the figures for the appearance of the new moon provided by Humphreys and Waddington, and confining our attention to the most plausible period for the Passion (A.D. 30-36),[20] there is an additional year (A.D. 36) when Nisan 14 may have been a Friday, and there are two years when Nisan 14 may have been a Thursday, in accordance with the Synoptic chronology, and not a Friday. In A.D. 33, although the 14th day of the lunar month next after the equinox would have been Friday April 3rd, the 14th day of the lunar month next before it would have been Thursday March 5th.[21] Again, in A.D. 30, although the 14th day of the lunar month next after the equinox would have been Friday April 7th, the 14th day

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[18] See p. 65. The other two regions were Cilicia and Mesopotomia.

[19] πάσχα can mean either the Passover or Easter, and here it embraces both.

[20] The main limiting factors are the procuratorship of Pontius Pilate (A.D. 26-36); the commencement of John the Baptist's ministry in the fifteenth year of Tiberius (probably A.D. 28-29); the subsequent three Passovers of Jesus's ministry, mentioned by John; and the fourteen or more years mentioned in Gal. 1:18; 2:1, between Paul's conversion (after Jesus's resurrection) and the Jerusalem council in A.D. 48-50. The stress which recent study has laid upon the historical value of the Fourth Gospel should warn us to take its three Passovers seriously.

[21] When it became customary to prohibit a thirteenth month within either a sabbatical year or the year following, as being years of scarcity because of the suspension of agriculture, a thirteenth month was added, by way of compensation in advance, to the year preceding (Tos. Sanhedrin 2:9; baraita in Bab Sanhedrin 12a). As A.D. 33-34 was probably a sabbatical year (the sabbatical year began six months after the festal year, and so spanned parts of two years), this would mean that a thirteenth month would have been added in A.D. 32-33, with the result that Passover in A.D. 33 would have been unlikely to fall before the equinox. However, as the latter of the two passages cited says, the family of Rabban Gamaliel (which held the patriarchate for most of the first two centuries A.D.) only prohibited intercalation in the sabbatical year itself, not the year following; and this is confirmed by the evidence that the year of the destruction of Jerusalem, A.D. 69-70, which was the year after a sabbatical year, contained a thirteenth month. See pp. 83-84, note 17, etc..

of the lunar month next before it would have been Wednesday March 8th, or, if the announcement of the new moon had been delayed a day by poor visibility, Thursday March 9th. March 5th or 9th (about a fortnight before the equinox) would be rather early for the Passover to fall, but since the climate of Palestine is not mechanically regular, and there is a great deal of variation in the time when the rainy season (with its agricultural activities) begins and ends, [22]an early spring and therefore an early Passover is entirely possible.[23]

THE PASSOVER AND THE THIRTEENTH MONTH

In the course of the 19-year cycle, a thirteenth month is added to the year seven times. Thus, to rectify the discrepancy between the lunar calendar and the seasons, one does not need to add the extra month every other year, but one does need to add it more frequently than one year in three. This will be the average. It would be a great mistake, however, to infer that in ancient times leap-years occurred in an orderly fashion and were always separated by one or two years. Among the Jews, two years in succession could be declared leap-years, and though there was a rule against three years in succession being declared such, there was a tradition that Rabbi Akiba (*ob* A.D. 135), who was reckoned a great authority on the calendar, had when in prison done precisely this, and had intercalated three years in succession (Tos. Sanhedrin 2:8; baraita in Bab Sanhedrin 12a). When Akiba's pupil Rabbi Simeon ben Yohai reports this, it is met with protest, but there does not seem to be any adequate reason to deny it. And if this could happen after the Temple had been destroyed, how much more could it happen before that, when the many reasons for intercalation which related to the Temple would have had much more importance?

The old sources mention, in all, eleven reasons for adding a thirteenth month. Six of these are regarded as primary reasons: 1. the immaturity of the corn-crops, 2. that of the fruit trees, 3. the remoteness of the equinox, 4. the fact that the Passover-ovens are not yet dry, 5. the fact that Jews from the Dispersion on their way to Jerusalem have not yet arrived, and 6. the fact that roads and bridges leading to Jerusalem still need to be repaired after the winter (Tos. Sanhedrin 2:2, 12; baraitas in Bab Sanhedrin 11a, 11b).

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[22] See Denis Baly, *The Geography of the Bible* (London: Lutterworth, 1959), pp. 47-52.

[23] Another factor which would sometimes have caused an early Passover was the prohibition against adding a thirteenth month in a year of famine (Tos. Sanhedrin 2:9; baraita in Bab Sanhedrin 11b-12a). This was to allow the Sheaf to be offered and the new crop to be released for use as soon as possible. However, there is no record of a year of famine in the period which concerns us: see Joachim Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus*, pp. 140-44, for a survey of famines occurring in Palestine around the beginning of the Christian era.

We have seen that two of the first three reasons had to apply, before intercalation was appropriate, and the same may be the case with the other three. Four subsidiary reasons are also mentioned: 7. that the kids or lambs are too thin, 8. that the turtledoves are too young, 9. that the weather is cold or snowy, and 10. that the Jews of the Dispersion have not even been able to set out (Tos. Sanhedrin 2:4-6, 12; baraitas and letters in Bab Sanhedrin 11a-b). These ought only to serve as auxiliary reasons for intercalation, it is considered; but if intercalation is based on these alone, as the saying of Rabban Simeon ben Gamaliel II quoted on p. 283 indicates that it sometimes was, the decree is valid. Finally, a disputed reason for intercalation is mentioned: 11. that there is danger of a large part of the nation being unable to eat the Passover because of uncleanness (Tos. Sanhedrin 2:10; baraita in Bab Sanhedrin 12a-b). Rabbi Judah ben Ilai, who usually represents the older view, supports this reason, and if it is more than merely theoretical, it probably goes back to Temple times; as all the reasons that relate to sacrifices and the pilgrimage to Jerusalem (at least six of the other ten) certainly do.

With so many reasons why thirteenth months could be added, and such irregularity in the adding of these months, it is virtually impossible to say in which years one was added and in which years one was not. Negatively, we know that one would not be added in a sabbatical year or a year of famine (see notes 21 and 23), and though there seems to have been no famine in the relevant period, the year A.D. 33-34 was probably a sabbatical year, so there would not have been a thirteenth month before the Passover of A.D. 34. Positively, many of the reasons for intercalation imply that the rainy season had begun or ended late, with late cold or snow, or delayed crops, or thin lambs and kids, so if we knew in which of the relevant years (if any) such conditions were present, we could regard it as probable that a thirteenth month was then added. However, neither the New Testament nor Josephus supplies us with the necessary information.

This being the case, we have to reckon with the possibility that the Passover in any of the years A.D. 30-36, except A.D. 34, may have been delayed by the addition of the thirteenth month. And since it was a well-known practice to have leap-years two years in succession, and not unheard-of to have them three years in succession, we need to reckon with this possibility as well; though it has to be realised that in such cases the Passover would probably have fallen only a month after the equinox, not two or three months after it.[24]

[24] Two leap-years in succession would be due to such causes as the normal incidence of leap-year followed the next year by a late spring, or the normal incidence of leap-year preceded by a leap-year delayed by the sabbatical year or a year of famine. If the latter sequence were followed the next year by a late spring, one would have leap-years three years in succession. In

Before seeing what effect all this would have, we need to consider the question of the length of the thirteenth month. There were different views about this, whether it should be of variable or fixed length, and, if fixed, about its length (whether 30 days or 29). Later, it was fixed at 29 days. However, we saw on p. 283 that the two letters announcing a leap-year which have survived from early times, written by Rabban Gamaliel II and Rabban Simeon ben Gamaliel II respectively, both say that it has been decided "to add thirty days to this year". Moreover, lest this should be taken as a coincidence, there is also the habitual saying by the second of these patriarchs, quoted on the same page, "it is advisable in my opinion to add thirty days to this year". A baraita elsewhere (Bab Rosh ha-Shanah 19b) attributes a different view to Rabban Simeon ben Gamaliel, but probably there has been a confusion of names in that place, since the balance of evidence shows him taking the same view as his father. It looks, therefore, as if this is another of the old calendrical traditions peculiar to the "family of Rabban Gamaliel", like that mentioned in note 21; and if so it was more likely than not normal first-century practice to use a thirteenth month of fixed length, namely, of thirty days.

Why this should be, is not so easy to answer. However, a possible reason is the need of time for the messengers announcing the thirteenth month, or the new year itself, to get to the Jews of the Dispersion. The observance of holy days at the right date caused great problems to the Jews of the Dispersion, because often news that the preceding new moon had been sighted in Palestine failed to reach them soon enough. The Passover, the most important festival of all, was only thirteen days after the new moon of Nisan, and there was no way that the messengers could get to a distant part of the Dispersion such as Rome in thirteen days. The best way to Rome was by sea, but even at the most favourable season for sailing the journey would take them twice this length of time, and the beginning of Nisan was so far from being the most favourable season for sailing that it was only days after the season when the seas were completely closed.[25] The messengers might well have to travel by the overland route, and if they covered about fifty Roman miles a day, like the Roman imperial post, the journey to Rome would take them around 42 days.[26] Even with the extra month, they would only get there just before the festival, and the length of the extra month

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each case, however, the final or penultimate factor is the normal incidence of leap-year, so even after the last of the leap-years Passover would only be a month later than the equinox, not two or three months later.

[25] See note 35 on p. 69.

[26] See A. M. Ramsay, "The Speed of the Roman Imperial Post", in *Journal of Roman Studies*, vol. 15 (1925), pp. 60-74. Among the journeys he instances is an overland journey in winter from Rome to Alexandria (perhaps 3,177 miles), which took 63 days. From Jerusalem to Rome is about two thirds of this distance, and follows a similar route.

might make little difference. But if the extra month were of fixed length, places which could be reached in less than a month would get advance information of the exact date. So this may perhaps have been the motive.[27]

Applying these considerations to the problem in hand, and working once more from the figures for the appearance of the new moon provided by Humphreys and Waddington, we see that there are three years in the period from A.D. 30 to 36 when the announcement of a thirteenth month before the Passover could have been significant. In A.D. 34, though the 14th day of the lunar month next after the equinox would have been a Wednesday (March 24th), the insertion of a 30-day intercalary month would have moved the 14th day of the first month to a Friday (April 23rd). However, we noted on p. 287 that the Passover of A.D. 34 probably fell in a sabbatical year, and if so it would not have been preceded by a thirteenth month. More significant, therefore, is the case of A.D. 31. This is the year favoured by Jeremias, and he argues, as we saw on pp. 281-282, that Nisan 14 that year could have been a Thursday if it was preceded by a thirteenth month and if the announcement of the new moon of Nisan that year was delayed for a day by poor visibility. The latter of these requirements can be forgotten, however, if the thirteenth month had a fixed length of thirty days, for a delay of thirty days would, in itself, move Nisan 14 from Tuesday March 27th to Thursday April 26th. Nor should the case of A.D. 35 be wholly ignored. For though, in that year, a delay of thirty days would have moved Nisan 14 from Tuesday April 12th to the very late date of Thursday May 12th, we are not in a position to say that towards the end of March that year, after an exceptionally late spring, it might not have seemed necessary to add a thirteenth month; and if it had, this would have been the result.

Reconciling the Passion-Week Chronology

The chronology of Passion-week is a difficult and complicated problem, and this is no place to explores the whole question. The purpose of the present essay is simply to counsel caution before too hastily rejecting certain solutions or accepting others. As it tries to demonstrate, the idea that astronomical and calendrical considerations cut the Gordian Knot by tying

[27] Of the other major holy days, Pentecost would have created no problem, since it was fixed by counting fifty days from the Passover; but Trumpets, the Day of Atonement and Tabernacles, on Tishri 1, 10 and 15 respectively, would have caused difficulty. The Mishnah says that, in order to fix Trumpets, messengers went out to announce the sighting of the new moon of Elul, the previous month (Rosh ha-Shanah 1:3), and this makes one wonder whether the family of Rabban Gamaliel also gave a fixed length to Elul. Certainly, there was a tradition that in practice Elul always had 29 days (Bab Rosh ha-Shanah 19b), and the tradition perhaps arose out of a rule.

Nisan 14 down to a Friday in A.D. 30 or A.D. 33, thus excluding the Synoptic chronology, is a mistake. On the contrary, we have seen that if the Passover fell before the equinox in A.D. 33, Nisan 14 was a Thursday; and if the Passover was delayed by a thirteenth month in A.D. 31 or A.D. 35, Nisan 14 was a Thursday. Moreover, if the Passover fell before the equinox in A.D. 30, and the announcement of the new moon was delayed for a day by poor visibility, Nisan 14 was a Thursday in that year also. Of course, it could be conjectured that poor visibility made the other three Thursdays Fridays, in accordance with the "Johannine" chronology; but then, the two favoured Fridays were subject to the same danger, and could have become Saturdays!

If one is not content to posit a contradiction between John and the Synoptists (a position which has its own difficulties, not the least of them being the indications that John himself knows, and sometimes follows, the Synoptic chronology),[28] various possible ways of reconciling them are worthy of consideration. One way, which is much in vogue at the present time, is that of rival calendars. This takes various forms. Occasionally it has been maintained, on the grounds of a misunderstanding of the rabbinical evidence, that some Jews sacrificed the Passover lamb on Nisan 13, not Nisan 14. This would be contrary to the express command of Exod. 12:6; Lev. 23:5; Num. 9:3; 28:16. Occasionally again, it has been conjectured that the Sadducees or Boethusians (related groups, if not indeed the same) had a controvesy with the Pharisees over the date of the Passover, just as they did over the date of Pentecost. However, this is pure conjecture, and since the voluminous rabbinical literature so often specifies matters on which these rival groups contended, including of course the date of Pentecost, it would be strange for it to say nothing about a controversy over the date of the still more important festival of the Passover. What the rabbinical literature does tell us (and Josephus, quite independently, supports this)[29] is that in practice the Sadducees gave way to the Pharisees; and if so, such a controversy could hardly have any bearing on the date of the Last Supper. We can scarcely think of Jesus as the one *Sadducee* who had the courage of his convictions.[30]

Then again, an explanation of the discrepancy between the Gospels has occasionally been sought in the fact that some Jews reckoned the 24-hour day from nightfall and others from daybreak; or, to speak more accurately,

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[28] See below, pp. 293-294.

[29] Josephus, *Antiquities* 13:10:5f, or 13:288, 296, 298; 13:15:5, or 13:401f; 18:1:3f, or 18:15, 17.

[30] The reason for the controversy over the date of Pentecost was that the Pentateuch does not give Pentecost an explicit date, and that the word "Sabbath" which it uses in this connection (Lev. 23:11, 15f) is open to more than one interpretation. Nothing of the kind applies to the Passover.

that some *preferred* one reckoning to the other, for they were not treated as mutually exclusive.[31] The fallacy here is that it would only have led to a difference in the dating of the night and not of the day. Since (except on rare occasions like the Passover meal) all activity took place in the daytime, it is the day which would be dated, and the night—whether the night preceding or the night following—would take its date from the day. Especially would this have to be so if both reckonings were used, as they were, by the same people. Since the Pentateuch required that the lamb should be slain on the 14th and eaten the following night (Exod. 12:6-10), and since the slaying had, by the first century, been moved forward from the evening of the 14th into the afternoon of that day (Philo, *De Specialibus Legibus* 2:145, 149: *Questiones et Solutiones in Exodum* 1:11; Josephus, *War* 6:9:3, or 6:423; M. Pesahim 5:1), it would make no difference in practice whether the following night was reckoned part of the 14th or part of the 15th, for it would still be the night after the day which, on both reckonings, was called the 14th, and on which the Passover was slain.

These conjectural differences of calendar have now been pushed into the background by the demonstration of a real difference of calendar between the predominant Jewish schools of thought and the Essenes. The credit for demonstrating this belongs mainly to Mlle Annie Jaubert. In her book *La date de la cène* (Paris: Gabalda, 1957) and various related articles she has proved, to the satisfaction of most scholars, that the solar calendar expounded in 1 Enoch and the Book of Jubilees, and actually practised at Qumran, assigned exactly 52 weeks (or 364 days) to the year, and that its new year's day was a Wednesday. A consequence is that the 14th day of its first month, when the Passover lambs were due to be slain, was a Tuesday, and Mlle Jaubert tries to use this fact to explain the difference between the Synoptists and John, by suggesting that Jesus followed the Essene calendar and his opponents the standard lunar one.

Unfortunately, this ingenious proposal proves to be open to very weighty objections. First, though many events follow hard upon one another between the Last Supper and the death of Jesus, all the Gospels place his death on a Friday (Matt 27:62; 28:1; Mark 15:42; Luke 23:54; John 19:31, 42) and they all imply that the Last Supper took place the night before, not three nights before. Secondly, the links between primitive Christianity and Essenism, though interesting, are relatively few, and Jesus's own links with Essenism do not appear to be any stronger. In particular, on the many occasions when he goes up to Jerusalem for the feasts (as J. T. Milik points out) he always goes up with the festival-crowds and not at some unusual

[31] In proof of this, see chapter 1.

time.[32] Thirdly, it is very questionable whether the Essenes did go up to Jerusalem for the feasts, or whether Jesus, had he shared their views, would have done so. The Essenes followed the beliefs expressed in the older sections of the Book of Enoch, where the sacrifices offered in the Second Temple are described as "polluted and not pure", and the seer is unable to tell whether God's people enter Jerusalem any more (1 Enoch 89:67, 73). The Temple-authorities, for their part, excommunicated the Essenes, and this may well have happened before the time of Jesus's ministry.[33] Fourthly, the assumption of Mlle Jaubert that, though the Essenes held the Passover on a different day from other Jews, they would have held it in the same week, is quite gratuitous, and in all probability wrong. It is based on the supposition that the Jews of our Lord's day had the same proficiency as some of their neighbours abroad in astronomical science, and so would have been well aware that the true length of the solar year was not 364 days. As we have seen, such a supposition is not in accordance with the unsophisticated and pragmatic approach to the calendar which most Jewish evidence from the first few centuries A.D. actually reflects, nor is it in accordance with the dogmatic assertions of the Essenes that their 364-day year is exact.[34] Without intercalation, however, the Essene calendar would rapidly have diverged from the seasons; and since it is first found in the oldest section of 1 Enoch, and so dates back to the third century B.C., the idea that it would still have been sufficiently in line with the seasons by the time of the Last Supper for it to have placed the Passover in the same week as that of other Jews, is in the highest degree improbable.

But if the hypothesis that rival calendars are the clue to reconciling the chronology of Passion-week finally breaks down, one is thrown back upon the old solution that the Synoptists really agree with John, or that John really agrees with the Synoptists. Since the great Christian students of Judaism (Edersheim, Strack-Billerbeck, Dalman, Jeremias, to name only modern examples) are virtually all at one in holding that the Synoptists represent the Last Supper as a Passover meal,[35] the only way of maintaining that the Synoptists really agree with John that the Passover meal was a day later, is to say that Jesus, on his own authority, held his own Passover meal a day early. This would have involved holding it on a different day from that which the

[32] *Ten Years of Discovery*, p. 112f.

[33] See Josephus, *Antiquities* 18:1:5, or 18:19.

[34] See chapter 5, which deals also with the question how the Essenes handled the practical difficulties of using a calendar which was out of line with the seasons.

[35] The evidence that Jeremias presents on pp. 41-62 of his book *The Eucharistic Words* to prove that the Last Supper was a Passover meal, and on pp. 62-84 to answer the customary objections, has really destroyed the older alternative hypotheses that the Last Supper was just a "kiddush-meal" or a haburah-meal. It cannot have been anything but a Passover meal, even if an anticipated one.

Old Testament prescribes, and killing the lamb outside the sole sanctuary which the Old Testament recognises (for the priests of the Temple would never have offered the lamb a day early, and Jesus would never have had it deceitfully presented as some other kind of sacrifice). Nevertheless, such was the sovereign authority with which Jesus acted, that no-one can call this solution impossible.[36] What makes the present writer hesitate about it, is the fact that the Fourth Gospel itself appears to contain indications of a chronology other than that which lies upon its surface—of a chronology which would make the Last Supper not an anticipated Passover meal but the official one, and would make John agree with the Synoptists, not the Synoptists with John.

The chief of these indications, pointed out by Jeremias,[37] are the following:

(a) The Last Supper, as John describes it (and not just as the Synoptists do), has many of the peculiarities of the Passover meal. It is held in Jerusalem, despite the crowds, and not in Bethany (John 18:1; contrast John 12:1f); it is apparently held later than the usual evening-meal, going on into the night (John 13:30); and the participants recline instead of sitting (John 13:12, 23, 25).

(b) The assumption of the disciples that what Jesus had sent Judas out from the Last Supper to "do quickly" might have been to buy the necessities for the feast (John 13:27-30) is hardly intelligible if this was only the night following Nisan 13 and not that following Nisan 14, for it was the custom in Judaea to work on Nisan 14 until midday (M. Pesahim 4:1, 5). Nisan 15, on the other hand, was a solemn rest-day, in accordance with Lev. 23:5-8, so if this was the night following Nisan 14, Judas would already have been late in buying the necessities for the festival day and the Sabbath following it, and needed to make haste.

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[36] R. T. France has recently argued the case for this solution in his essay "Chronological Aspects of 'Gospel Harmony'", in *Vox Evangelica*, vol. 16 (1986), pp. 43-59, with the difference that he uses the argument from silence that there was no Passover lamb at Jesus's Passover meal, pointing out that this would have made it easier for him to hold it before the Passover sacrifice was offered; and he interprets Mark 14:12 and Luke 22:7-8 accordingly. However, the argument from silence is far from strong, since the Evangelists naturally concentrate on those parts of the ceremony that Jesus significantly modified, not on those he left unchanged, such as the eating of the lamb. France also speaks rather unguardedly about a lamb-less Passover meal being normal after the destruction of the Temple, and probably normal even in Temple times among the Jews of the Dispersion. It is true that after the lamb could no longer be sacrificed at the Temple it became a much less important part of the meal, and efforts were made to distinguish it from a sacrificed lamb by the way it was cooked (M. Pesahim 4:4; 7:1; M. Betzah 2:7; Tos. Betzah 2:15); and it is possible that such practices were anticipated among the Jews of the Dispersion and in separated groups like the Essenes. This is hardly the same, however, as having no lamb at all, and especially in a Passover meal like Jesus's, held in the proximity of the Temple while it was still standing. See also note 38.

[37] *Op. cit.*, pp. 53f, 80-82.

(c) The statement of John 19:31 "the day of that Sabbath was a high day" is curiously vague if it refers to Nisan 15 and not Nisan 16. John has already stated seven times that they have come up to Jerusalem for the "Passover" (John 11:55, twice; 12:1; 13:1; 18:28, 39; 19:14). It would surely have been more natural, therefore, to say "the day of that Sabbath was the Passover" or "was the day when they ate the Passover", had he thought of it as such. If, however, it was Nisan 16, the day of the offering of the Sheaf (Lev. 23:9-14), his expression is a very natural one.[38]

What, then, are we to make of the two passages in John which seem to state the direct opposite: John 19:14, which calls the day of the crucifixion "the Preparation of the Passover", and John 18:28, which says that on the same day the chief priests and Pharisees have yet to "eat the Passover"?

"The Preparation of the Passover" (John 19:14) is a phrase which naturally recalls the rabbinical expression "the Eve of the Passover", meaning Nisan 14, "the Passover" itself being Nisan 15. However, the rabbinical form of language is curiously at variance with the Old Testament, where it is Nisan 14 that is "the Passover", and Nisan 15 is the first day of "Unleavened Bread" (Lev. 23:5f; Num. 28:16f); and there is no clear example of the rabbinical phraseology in the New Testament. So, as the "Preparation", παρασκευή, commonly means Friday (the preparation for the *Sabbath),* and as the word is used twice in this sense in the very same chapter of John (John 19:31, 42), it seems better to understand "the Preparation of the Passover" as meaning "the Friday of Passover week".[39]

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[38] Point *(a)* does not directly conflict with the hypothesis of an anticipated Passover meal, but points *(b)* and *(c)* do. Indirectly, however, point *(a)* also conflicts with it, for it is hard to think that John would have referred to the Passover meal taking place on two distinct days without giving any hint of the explanation, though the explanation lay in a quite unique decision by Jesus (which could hardly be guessed) to hold it a day early. The Evangelists are accustomed to emphasize unconventional actions by Jesus, and to explain the reason for them, not to refer to them in this deceptively allusive way. Similarly, in Mark 14:12 and Luke 22:7f the absence of any such hint of an unconventional decision by Jesus makes it natural to understand the verses as meaning that Jesus's Passover meal took place after the sacrificing of the Passover lambs, in accordance with custom, and not before it.

[39] Either the Friday of the Jewish week (from Sunday to Saturday) within which Passover fell that year, or, perhaps better, the Friday within the feast of Passover and Unleavened Bread, thought of as a single festival (cp. Mark 14:1; Luke 22:1). The baraita in the Babylonian Talmud stating that "On the Eve of the Passover Yeshu was hanged" (Bab Sanhedrin 43a) would tell against this explanation if one could be sure that it referred to Jesus of Nazareth (as some of the rabbis supposed) and that the date had not been altered for apologetic reasons. However, the rest of the baraita, which states that he was first stoned, and that his execution was delayed for forty days while a herald went out inviting anyone to say a word in his favour, suggests that it may refer to a different Yeshu altogether. In Jeremias's view (*The Eucharistic Words*, p. 19) it refers to the Yeshu who was a disciple of Rabbi Joshua ben Perahiah (c. 100 B.C.) and who fled with his master to Alexandria from the persecution of Alexander Jannaeus, but afterward fell into idolatry, as is related in Bab Sanhedrin 107b and Bab Sotah 47a. A more reliable parallel to John 19:14 is found in the Gospel of Peter (mid-second century A.D.), which unambiguously says that Herod (rather than Pilate) delivered Jesus to the Jews "on the

"Eat the Passover" (John 18:28) is more difficult, for there is no doubt that it would usually mean "eat the Passover lamb". But since it turns out, in the light of the foregoing evidence, that this interpretation would make John contradict himself about the chronology, a less usual interpretation becomes a distinct possibility. The sacrifice of the Passover lamb, and the meal which followed, were only the first (though the most important) of the many sacrifices and sacred meals which took place throughout the week of Passover and Unleavened Bread, and had done so since Old Testament times. In the first century, it was held that the command not "to appear empty" before the Lord at the pilgrim feasts (Exod. 23:15; 34:20; Deut. 16:16) had a precise meaning: it meant each male Israelite bringing a burnt offering and a peace offering, in addition to the Passover lamb; and this obligation is the subject of the tractate Hagigah in the Mishnah. Those referred to in John 18:28 as wanting to remain ceremonially clean so as to "eat the Passover" are the chief priests and the Pharisees (cp. verse 3). The Pharisees would have been very scrupulous about the *hagigah* duty, and as it involved a peace offering, which necessarily included a sacred meal, they would certainly have wanted to remain ceremonially clean so as to be able to eat it. Even more would this have concerned the chief priests, since a share of every peace offering went to the priest who offered it. Moreover, the peace offering might be an ox from the herd, rather than a lamb or goat from the flock.[40]

The question, therefore, that faces us is, Was it possible to use phrases like "to sacrifice the Passover" and "to eat the Passover" to cover these other sacrifices and sacred meals as well? In Old Testament times, Deut. 16:2f shows that it was, and as the Old Testament was the Bible of Judaism, and the Pentateuch was reckoned its most important part, it was always possible for Pentateuchal phraseology to be echoed or copied. What Deut. 16:2f says is:

> Thou shalt *sacrifice the Passover* unto the Lord thy God, of the flock *and the herd*, in the place which the Lord shall choose to cause his name to dwell there. Thou shalt *eat* no leavened bread *with it* (i.e. with the Passover); *seven days* shalt thou *eat* unleavened bread *with it*, even the bread of affliction.

Here the phrase "sacrifice the Passover" is actually used, and the phrase "eat unleavened bread with the Passover" (and therefore "eat the Passover" itself) is clearly implied; and in both cases the reference is to what goes on for seven days, and includes the sacrificing and eating of oxen from the herd as well as lambs and kids from the flock. The usage is probably found again in

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day before the Unleavened Bread, their feast." However, the Gospel of Peter is dependent upon the canonical Gospels, including John, and this would not be the only example of it misunderstanding its sources.

[40] For all these details of the law of the peace offering, see Lev. 3:1-17; 7:11-36.

the Hebrew of 2 Chron. 30:22, in the account of Hezekiah's Passover, where the literal meaning is

> So they *ate the festal sacrifice* (i.e. the Passover, verse 18) for the *seven days*, offering sacrifices of *peace offerings*, and giving thanks to the Lord, the God of their fathers.

Moreover, the earlier example occurs in biblical Greek as well, since Deut. 16:2f is literally translated in the Septuagint (whereas 2 Chron. 30:22 is paraphrased).

It does not seem impossible, therefore, that "eat the Passover" in John 18:28 means "eat all the sacred meals of the festival", as those concerned would go on doing for seven days. Whether this interpretation is *likely* or not, may partly depend on whether John assumes a knowledge of the Synoptic Gospels, or at least of the Synoptic tradition, in his readers. If so, he could have used the phrase in this less common sense without expecting to be misunderstood. Of course, some today deny that John assumes a knowledge of the Synoptic tradition, but the traditional dating of his Gospel, and the remarkable selection of material it contains, strongly suggest that he does; and if so, this most problematical verse of his is probably in only apparent conflict with the Synoptic chronology.

Much more could be said, but, without straying too far from calendrical and astronomical considerations, no more can be said here.

CHAPTER TEN

A TIME, TIMES AND HALF A TIME: THE REVELATION OF THE PROPHET JOHN AND THE THREE-AND-A-HALF TIMES

Jesus Christ was a teacher, and great parts of the Gospel records consist of the discourses which he gave. "Teacher" (in the old translation, "Master") was the way he was most frequently addressed, and the honorific "Rabbi" or "Rabboni", which was sometimes substituted, had the same implication. But he was no ordinary teacher, for he taught as one having authority, and not as the scribes (Matt. 7:29; Mark 1:22). In accordance with his followers' later description of him, he was "a prophet, mighty in deed and word" (Luke 24:19);[1] indeed, he was the expected prophet like Moses (Acts 3:22f; 7:37); and even this language is judged inadequate by John, who declares him to be the Word of God made flesh (John 1:1, 14; 1 John 1:1). He was not just a man transmitting God's word: he incorporated it, being himself divine as well as human. In none of the other New Testament books is this unique title for Jesus used except in the Revelation of John (Rev. 19:13), and it is used there in the same sense, for the deity of Jesus is very plainly taught in the book. He is the Alpha and the Omega, the first and the last (Rev. 1:17; 22:13), the King of kings and Lord of lords (Rev. 19:16), and is the object of divine worship (Rev. 5:13f.).

The Apostles and the New Testament Prophets

The chief bearers of New Testament revelation, apart from Jesus Christ, are the apostles and New Testament prophets whom he sends. His promise to send prophets comes in a saying recorded by Matthew and Luke (Matt. 23:34-36; Luke 11:49-51), and in the Lukan form of the saying the prophets are linked with the apostles. The apostles and prophets are also linked together by Paul, as being the recipients of the newly revealed mystery of the gospel (Eph. 3:5), and as forming, jointly with Jesus Christ himself, the foundation of the church (Eph. 2:20); and they therefore stand at the head of

[1] For a comparison between Jesus and certain other charismatic teachers of his time, not unlike prophets and free of political ambitions, see Geza Vermes, *Jesus the Jew* (London: Collins, 1973), ch. 3; Martin Hengel, *The Charismatic Leader and his Followers* (E.T., Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1981). A comparison, and contrast, with John the Baptist is, of course, made by the New Testament itself.

Paul's lists of those endowed with spiritual gifts (1 Cor. 12:28f; Eph. 4:11). The two groups are again linked (with the addition of the saints) in Rev. 18:20. The Revelation ascribes unique dignity to the twelve apostles, whose names are on the twelve foundations of the holy city, New Jerusalem (Rev. 21:14), but the author ranks himself with the New Testament prophets. His book is a "prophecy" (Rev. 1:3; 22:7, 10, 18f), in which he "prophesies" (Rev. 10:11), and he himself is classed with his "brethren the prophets" (Rev. 22:9). The distinction presumably lies in the fact that the twelve apostles, according to other books of the New Testament, were men chosen by Christ to be his companions and eye-witnesses (Luke 24:48; John 15:27; 19:35; 21:24; Acts 1:8, 21f; 2:32; 3:15; 4:33; 5:32; 10:39-41; 13:31; 1 Pet 5:1; 1 John 1:1f; 4:14). They had "seen Jesus our Lord" (1 Cor. 9:1) and been commissioned by him to tell others.[2] The New Testament prophets, on the other hand, like the Old Testament prophets, were men with whom the Lord only communicated "in the Spirit" (Rev. 1:10; 4:2; 17:3; 21:10) and through angels (Rev. 1:1; 17:1, 7; 21:9; 22:6, 8, 16). In Acts also, the New Testament prophets bear a striking resemblance to the prophets of the Old Testament, with their sudden appearances, their symbolical actions, and their predictions of the future (Acts 11:27f; 21:10f).[3] Whether the same man could in different circumstances be both an apostle and a prophet is a question which we need not here discuss, though the traditional authorship of the Revelation implies it. At all events, it is as a prophet that John writes the Revelation.

Jesus and the New Testament Prophets

The relationship between Jesus, as the Word of God, and the prophets is a most significant one. It is that their testimony is not simply their own but is "the testimony of Jesus" or "of Jesus Christ". In the Revelation of John, "the testimony (μαρτυρία) of Jesus (Christ)" does not mean, as "the testimony (μαρτύριον) of Christ" does in Paul, the testimony borne to Jesus Christ by his

[2] The only reason why Paul, though "born out of due time", as he puts it (1 Cor. 15:8), could claim to be an apostle in a similar sense to the Twelve, was that he had seen and heard Jesus with his own eyes and ears, not in any subjective vision, but at midday and in public, displayed in a light and with a sound of which his companions also were aware, and which left Paul himself blind for three days (Acts 9:7-18; 22:6, 9, 11-13; 26:13f).

[3] Like their Old Testament counterparts, the New Testament prophets had also a less dramatic ministry of encouragement and comfort (Acts 15:32; 1 Cor. 14:3), and it is even conceivable that, following in the footsteps of the authors of the Former Prophets and Chronicles, they engaged to some extent in the writing of sacred history. On the New Testament prophets, see further David Hill, *New Testament Prophecy* (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1979); D. E. Aune, *Prophecy in Early Christianity and the Mediterranean World* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983).

witnesses (1 Cor. 1:6; cp. also 2 Tim. 1:8); rather, it means the testimony borne by Jesus Christ himself. The phrase is used repeatedly in the Revelation, sometimes in parallel to "the word of God" (Rev. 1:2, 9; 20:4) or "the commandments of God" (Rev. 12:17), and this indicates clearly enough that the genitive is subjective, not objective. We also read of Jesus "testifying" (Rev. 22:16, 20) and of Jesus as "the faithful witness" (Rev. 1:5; 3:14), where the cognate words μαρτυρέω and μάρτυς are used, and once again the testimony is that borne by Jesus himself. Nor is it the testimony borne by Jesus during his ministry that John has chiefly in mind, but the testimony which he bears from heaven through his prophets. Though the word of God and the testimony of Jesus sometimes means the gospel message more generally, for which both John and other Christians suffer (Rev. 1:9; 6:9; 12:17; 20:4), yet it refers particularly to the message of the book of this prophecy (Rev. 1:1-3; 22:18-20), a revelation which God gave to Jesus and which Jesus sent his angel to show to John (Rev. 1:1f; 22:6-9, 16); for "the Lord" Jesus is "the God of the spirits of the prophets" (Rev. 22:6) and "the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy" (Rev. 19:10).

Though the Book of Revelation is full of angels, the particular angel who communicated the prophecy to John (Rev. 1:1; 22:6, 8, 16) is not very conspicuous in the book. Like the giving of the Law of Moses through angels (Acts 7:38, 53; Gal. 3:19; Heb. 2:2; cp. Deut. 33:2 LXX), the angel's ministry is a fact asserted rather than displayed. In the first main section of the book (Rev. 1:4-3:22), which is chiefly concerned with what the prophet hears, and in which Jesus, the faithful witness, addresses the seven churches in the first person, one has to presume that the testimony of Jesus is reported to John by the angel in words. It is doubtless significant also that John is "in the Spirit" when the angel comes to him (Rev. 1:10), and each of the seven letters to the churches which John is bidden to write in the name of Jesus ends, "He that hath an ear, let him hear what the *Spirit* saith to the churches". In the other main section of the book (Rev. 4:1-22:5), which is chiefly concerned with what the prophet sees, what he sees is equally the testimony of Jesus and is equally shown him by the angel (Rev. 1:1f; 22:6-9). Possibly the angel's method is to display it to the inspired man in visions, in the same way as he is shown visions by one of the angels that had the seven bowls (Rev. 17:1ff; 21:9ff); this may, indeed, be the same angel, since his revelations seem to continue without interruption from ch. 21:9 to ch. 22:16, where the angel responsible for the whole prophecy is in view.

The Revelation in Relation to the Witness of the Gospels

The "testimony" or "witness" which Jesus bears from heaven through his angel and prophet is presumably supplementary to that which he bore in his

own person during his teaching ministry on earth. In the Gospel of John, the terms μαρτυρία (witness, testimony) and μαρτυρέω (bear witness, testify) are used much as in the Revelation, but with reference to this earlier and direct witness which Jesus bore (John 3:11, 32f; 4:44; 7:7; 8:17f; 13:21). In the Synoptic Gospels, the same language is not applied to Jesus's teaching ministry, but his teaching is of course extensively reported there, as in the Fourth Gospel, and the Revelation reflects a clear knowledge of his teaching in the Synoptic Gospels also, the repeated phrase "He that hath an ear let him hear", quoted above, being a good example (cp. Matt. 11:15; 13:9, 43; Mark 4:9, 23; Luke 8:8; 14:35). It is therefore not surprising that two revelatory (or, as we would put it, apocalyptic) sayings of Jesus's in the Synoptic Gospels are apparently incorporated by John into the Revelation, along with various references which Jesus makes in these Gospels to the prophecies of Daniel.

The Revelation (in Greek, Ἀποκάλυψις) of John, as it calls itself in its opening verse, has given its name to that particular kind of prophecy, concentrating on the revealing of secrets, which has come to be called Apocalyptic.[4] Two sayings of Jesus's in the Gospel of Luke, which are of this character, are the ones apparently taken up in the Revelation of John, and the two sayings are often used by commentators on the Revelation, with good reason, as clues to the interpretation of the book. In Luke 10:18, when the Seventy return from their mission, rejoicing that even the demons are subject to them in Jesus's name, Jesus says, "I beheld Satan fallen as lightning from heaven". Building on this in Rev. 12:9, John says, "And the great dragon was cast down, the old serpent, he that is called the Devil and Satan, the deceiver of the whole world; he was cast down to the earth, and his angels were cast down with him". Again, in Luke 21:24, in the course of his great prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem and the end of the world, Jesus says, "And Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled". Building on this in Rev. 11:2, John says, "The holy city shall the nations tread under foot forty and two months".[5] We will not pause on these parallels here, but will return to them.

[4] The author has attempted elsewhere a comprehensive definition of apocalyptic, as follows: "Apocalyptic is literature akin to prophecy, concentrating on one aspect of prophecy, the revealing of secrets, and setting forth great secrets revealed by God to a favoured saint or prophet, whether about his purpose for the future, about the constitution of nature or about the unseen world, the mode of the revelation being sometimes highly symbolical but sometimes literal and unusually detailed" (*The Old Testament Canon of the New Testament Church, and its Background in Early Judaism*, p. 345).

[5] On the significant period of 42 months, or 3½ years, see below.

THE REVELATION IN RELATION TO OLD TESTAMENT PROPHECY

Just as the "testimony" of Jesus in the Revelation is supplementary to his testimony during his ministry, so the "prophecy" of John in the book is presumably supplementary to Old Testament prophecy. It has already been noted how similar the process of prophetic revelation is in this book to the process of prophetic revelation in the Old Testament, where we likewise find stress often being laid on the instrumentality of the Spirit (2 Chron. 15:1; 24:20; Isa. 48:16; Ezek. 2:2; 3:24; 11:5; 37:1; Mic. 3:8; Zech. 7:12) and on the mediation of an angel (2 Kgs. 1:3, 15: Ezek. 40:3f; 47:3ff; Dan. 8:16ff; 9:20ff; 10:5ff; Zech. 1:9, 14, 19; 2:3; 4:1, 4f; 5:5, 10; 6:4f); but another similarity is that John's prophecy also is written down in a prophetic book (Rev. 1:3, 11, 19; 22:7, 9f, 18f), a book which is to be as much exempt from addition or subtraction as Old Testament Scripture is (Rev. 22:18f; cp. Deut. 4:2; 12:32; Prov. 30:6). Many Old Testament prophecies are endorsed by being incorporated into the Revelation, not only the two prophecies by Jesus; and this raises the question whether what the Revelation says about prophecy is to be related simply to New Testament prophecy, or to Old Testament prophecy also. When, for example, the book speaks of God's "servants the prophets" (Rev. 10:7; 11:18), it is using a common Old Testament phrase, originally referring to the Old Testament prophets (2 Kgs. 9:7; 17:13, 23; 21:10; 24:2; Ezra 9:11; Jer. 7:25; 25:4; 26:5; 29:19; 35:15; 44:4; Ezek. 38:17; Dan. 9:6, 10; Amos 3:7; Zech. 1:6); and though it is probably extending the phrase to the New Testament prophets also, there is no reason to think that it is doing this to the exclusion of the prophets of the Old Testament. After all, the very name "prophet" is used of those like John in order to assimilate them to, not to differentiate them from, their Old Testament predecessors. Consequently, it is likely that the general statements which the Revelation makes about prophecy, such as "the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy" (Rev. 19:10), refer to Old Testament prophecy as well as New, and imply the same teaching as is explicit in 1 Pet. 1:10-12, that it was the Spirit of Christ who testified in the oracles of the Old Testament prophets.[6]

[6] It is sometimes supposed that, as an apocalyptist, John looks back to the authors of the intertestamental apocalypses with the same devotion as he does to the Old Testament prophets. The truth is, however, that the only passages of apocalyptic to which John makes distinct allusion occur in the Old Testament itself. The Revelation is in important respects distinct from intertestamental apocalyptic: it is not pseudonymous, and it makes no use of *vaticinia post eventum*. What it shares with intertestamental apocalyptic is only a general stock of ideas, imagery and language, which it also largely shares with Daniel and other canonical books. As the author has remarked elsewhere (*The Old Testament Canon of the New Testament Church*, p. 431), "R. H. Charles, whom it would be difficult to equal for knowledge of the Pseudepigrapha or appreciation of them, in his ICC *Commentary on the Revelation of St John*, vol. 1, pp. lxviii-lxxxiii, has drawn up a list of parallel passages for the Revelation, in which

The use of specific Old Testament prophecies in the Book of Revelation is occasionally a simple adoption of their language and imagery unaltered. For instance, when we are told that unbelieving Jerusalem is "spiritually called Sodom" (Rev. 11:8), this is simply an echo of the language used of Israel by Isaiah (Isa. 1:10; 3:9)[7]. Again, when John is bidden to eat a book of prophecy (Rev. 10:8-11), this is what Ezekiel has before been bidden to do with another book of prophecy (Ezek. 2:8-3:3). Occasionally also, Revelation interprets Old Testament prophecies in the same way as it does the two prophecies from the Gospels which it adopts, namely, in what is, or is taken to be, their primary sense. Thus, when we are told that Jesus will rule the nations with a rod of iron and will tread them in the winepress of the wrath of God (Rev. 12:5; 19:15), this is what is predicted of one who may well be the Messiah in Ps. 2:8f and Isa. 63:1-6, and the only clear development is that the Messiah is identified with Jesus. Again, when Ezekiel's vision of the cherubim and Isaiah's vision of the seraphim reappear in Revelation 4, their forms are combined, but they are not otherwise altered from how they first appear in Ezekiel 1 and 10 and Isaiah 6. Usually, however, there is some measure of reinterpretation of the prophecies which are adopted. This is something we are familiar with from other parts of the New Testament, where prophecies which are stated to be fulfilled in Christ are often interpreted in a way which transcends their simple sense. The main difference is that, elsewhere in the New Testament, the emphasis is on the fulfilment of the Old Testament in Christ's earthly ministry and in the present experience of the church, whereas in Revelation the emphasis is on the fulfilment of the Old Testament in Christ's heavenly glory and in the future experience of the church.

Examples of such reinterpretation in the Book of Revelation are many. In Rev. 11:3-6, the vision of the two olive trees standing by the lampstand in Zechariah 4, which is interpreted there of Zerubbabel and his companion (presumably Jeshua), the spiritual leaders of the returned exiles, is reinterpreted as meaning the spiritual witness of present and future Christians. In Rev. 1:7; 16:16, the penitent mourning of Israel over the Lord whom they have pierced, as foretold in Zech. 12:10f, is extended to include the remorse of the impenitent when they find themselves faced with his judgement. In Revelation 17-18, the various prophecies of Isaiah and Jeremiah concerning the judgement coming on Babylon are applied (still

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the parallels with the Old Testament books fill fourteen pages and the parallels with the Pseudepigrapha not much more than one." The use of apocalyptic traditions in the Book of Revelation is surveyed at length in chapter 2 of Richard Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy: Studies on the Book of Revelation* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1993).

[7] It is more difficult to be sure what prophecies are in view, in the same verse, as calling Jerusalem "Egypt": possibly Ezek. 20:7-10; 23:3, 8, 19, 27.

under the name of Babylon) to the city persecuting Christians, namely, Rome. In Rev. 20:7-10, the prophecy of the invasion by Gog Magog, and their destruction, late in Israel's history, as given in Ezekiel 38-39, is interpreted as foretelling what will happen late in the church's history. In Rev. 21:12f, what is foreseen in the vision of Ezek. 48:30-35 concerning the gates of the restored city of Jerusalem is understood of the heavenly city, New Jerusalem. In Rev. 21:23, the prophecy of Isa. 60:19f that the restored Jerusalem will have no need of the sun is likewise understood as referring to the heavenly New Jerusalem. And once again, in Rev. 22:1f, the vision of Ezek. 47:1-12 concerning the waters which will come forth from the Temple in the restored city is understood of the waters which will come forth from the throne of God and the Lamb in the heavenly city.

THE THREE-AND-A-HALF TIMES

A place of central importance in the Revelation, not surprisingly, is given to the prophecies of the great Old Testament apocalypse of Daniel, and here we seem to see both simple interpretation and reinterpretation at work. The prophecy of the four world-empires in Daniel 2 and Daniel 7, during the fourth and most dreadful of which the kingdom of God will intervene, is taken up by Revelation in its prophecy of the beast, which occupies much of Revelation 13 and 17 and many briefer passages elsewhere. In Daniel 7 the four empires are represented as four beasts, a lion, a bear, a leopard and an indescribable one; and in Revelation the characteristics of these beasts are combined in the one beast. It has features of a leopard, a bear and a lion, has the ten horns of Daniel's fourth beast and has the seven heads of all Daniel's four beasts combined, one of which has four heads and the others one (Rev. 13:1f; 17:3,7; cp. Dan. 7:3-7). The first of Daniel's four world-empires was certainly Babylon (Dan. 2:37f), and the last was understood by Jews of the first century to be Rome, as is clear not only from the rabbinical literature but from the statements of Josephus;[8] and the most straightforward

[8] We know from Josephus that Daniel's prophecy of the coming of the Son of man during the fourth world-empire, and the expectation of its fulfilment, dominated the Jewish revolt of A.D. 66-73. He refers to it as a scriptural prophecy "that at that time someone from their country should become ruler of the world" (*War* 6:5:4, or 6:312), and this is shown to be Dan. 7:13f by two facts: (i) it is a prophecy of *universal* dominion, unlike Num. 24:17-19, etc.; (ii) it is to be fulfilled at a particular time, i.e. during the fourth world-empire. Daniel, in the opinion of Josephus, "was not only accustomed to prophesy future things, as did the other prophets, but he also fixed the time at which these would come to pass" (*Antiquities* 10:11:7, or 10:267); and that Josephus took the fourth world-empire to be Rome is clear from his cautious language about its destruction (*Antiquities* 10:10:4, or 10:209f). On the other hand, the prophecy had earlier been interpreted by some as fulfilled by a corporate Son of man in the time of the Hellenistic successors of Alexander: see Sibylline Oracles 3:397-400 (but contrast Sib Or 3:46-54) and a fragmentary Qumran work described by J. T. Milik in *Revue Biblique*, vol. 63

interpretation of the beast of Revelation, incorporating the earlier beasts, would also make it the empire of Rome; since the great city Babylon, with its seven hills (Rev. 17:9), which is identified with Rome (Rev. 17:18), is seated upon this beast (Rev. 17:3).[9]

In Daniel 7, the fourth empire culminates in a proud king who makes war on the saints of the Most High, and prevails against them for a time and times and half a time (verses 8, 20-25). Persecution of God's people is spoken of again in Dan. 12:6-12, where the same period of a time, times and a half is given, and is interpreted as between 1,290 and 1,335 days. It thus means a period of (approximately) three and a half years. In the latter passage, the persecution is described as the taking away of the continual burnt offering and the setting up of the abomination that makes desolate (verse 11), which suggests the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes recorded in the books of Maccabees, a persecution which historically did last just over three years—three years and ten days (1 Macc. 1:54, 59; 4:52-54). This persecution is similarly described earlier, in Dan. 11:31, and in the prophecy of Dan. 8:9-14, 19-26, where the persecutor is explicitly said to be a latter-day king of "Javan", the empire of Greece, though the period of the persecution is given in chapter 8 as 2,300 "evening-mornings", or "evenings and mornings" (verses 14, 26). This unusual language alludes to the interruption of the continual morning and evening sacrifices, and if it counts each sacrifice separately it is again indicating a period of something over three years; if, however, it means 2,300 days, this could be the six years from Antiochus's first assault on the Temple to his death (1 Macc. 1:20-24; 6:16). The figures are approximate, not precise, for Daniel is writing prophecy not history, but they are sufficiently close to enable one to identify the events in view.

If, according to first-century thinking, the fourth world-empire of Daniel 7 was Rome, it would not be surprising if a Christian work like the Revelation made this beast a persecutor of Christians rather than of Jews,

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(1956), pp. 411-415, and similarly interpreted by F. García Martínez (*Qumran and Apocalyptic*, pp. 143-47). If the fourth world-empire is in fact Rome, the second is Media and Persia and the third is Greece. This agrees with the fact that in Daniel Media and Persia are a single kingdom (Dan. 5:28; 6:8, 12, 15; 8:20) and Alexander and his successors are a single kingdom (Dan. 8:21f), whereas one or other has to be divided if the fourth world-empire is Alexander's Hellenistic successors. Also, the second beast of Daniel 7, which "was raised up on one side" (or "raised up one dominion"), seems to reflect the twofold character of Media and Persia, and to correspond to the beast with two unequal horns, namely Medo-Persia, in Daniel 8; and the third beast of Daniel 7, with its four wings and four heads, seems to correspond to the beast in Daniel 8 with four horns, namely Greece. On all this, see also p. 262, note 62; pp. 266-267.

[9] It is interesting that the empire is not absolutely identified with the city, since the beast later turns against the woman Babylon (Rev. 17:16). Whether this means that we should look away from Rome for the later activities of the beast is hard to say, but possibly so.

and this is in fact what we find. The beast and his horns make war against the Lamb (Rev. 17:14; 19:19), and the woman who sits on the beast is drunk with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus (Rev. 17:6). The period of the persecution is the same as in Dan. 7:25, where it is three and a half years: it is 42 months (Rev. 13:5). 42 months is three years and six months, or in round figures 1,260 days: and this period is equated with a time and times and half a time elsewhere in Revelation (Rev. 12:6, 14). Since the beast is not Antiochus Epiphanes, but a persecutor of Christians foreshadowed by that persecutor of Jews, the three and a half years or 42 months may well be a symbolic rather than a literal period of time; and this is confirmed by the other uses of the same period which are found in Revelation. The period that the Lord's two witnesses prophesy, clothed in sackcloth, is 1,260 days (Rev. 11:3): this is probably the period of the church's witness on earth, two being the figure for reliable testimony (John 8:17; cp. Deut. 17:6; 19:15). The period that the woman, who bears the man-child destined to rule the nations, is preserved in the wilderness from the malice of Satan, after her son has been caught up to heaven, is three and a half times or 1,260 days (Rev. 12:6,14); this woman is probably the people of God, and the period of her preservation begins with Satan being cast down from heaven, as a result of Christ's earthly ministry, in accordance with the saying from the Gospels quoted earlier (Luke 10:18), here echoed (Rev. 12:9); and the period continues throughout her earthly history. Finally, the period that the holy city is to be trodden under foot by the Gentiles is 42 months (Rev. 11:2): this, according to the other saying from the Gospels quoted earlier (Luke 21:24), is "the times of the Gentiles" during which the Jews will be dispersed from their own land and city.

The period of 42 months during which the beast has "authority to continue" (Rev. 13:5) seems, therefore, to correspond to much, if not all, of the period of the church's witness on earth. The three and a half years end with a short period of triumph for the beast, described as lasting "three *days* and a half" (Rev. 11:7-12), and this perhaps corresponds to the future period of "one hour" when the beast and his ten horns make war on the Lamb (Rev. 17:9-14).[10] This war is again mentioned in Rev. 19:19-21, where it ends with the beast being cast into the lake of fire; and the war which follows Christ's thousand years' reign on earth, in Rev. 20:7-10, may again be the same,

[10] In this connection, it is worth noting that the beast is said to "be" one of the kings who spring out of his empire. He is one of the succession of seven, and also an eighth (Rev. 17:10f), perhaps a sort of Nero or Domitian redivivus (cp. also Rev. 13:3, 12, 14). In this representation he corresponds more exactly to the persecuting horn who rises out of the fourth empire (but is not himself that empire) in Daniel 7. One may compare the two-sided teaching in Revelation about the beast with what is said about the Antichrist in 1 John 4:3 and about the mystery of lawlessness in 2 Thess. 2:7f, that its spirit is already at work, but that there is a greater manifestation of it still to come.

though Satan rather than the beast is there described as the leader of the insurgent armies. If the last parallel is true, it underlines the symbolical character of the period of three and a half years, since the same period can also be spoken of as a thousand years: but this raises the vexed question of the interpretation of the Millennium, which we cannot here pursue. The Augustinian interpretation, according to which it corresponds to the period of the church's witness on earth, is at least a serious possibility.

We have said nothing in this chapter as yet about Daniel's prophecy of the Seventy Weeks in Daniel 9, but we must now direct our attention to this, since this is the other prophecy which appears to refer to a period of three and a half years. The prophecy takes its cue from Jeremiah's prophecy of the Seventy Years, after which the Exile will end—a prophecy which is quoted in the opening verses of the chapter; and it looks forward to a much greater period, of seventy *weeks* (of years), which will bring in a much greater consolation than the end of the Exile, namely, the finishing of transgression, the making an end of sins, the making of reconciliation for iniquity, the bringing in of everlasting righteousness, and the anointing of a holy of holies (whether sanctuary or priest)—all of which will seal up vision and prophecy (verse 24). The prophecy also involves the cutting off of an anointed one (or Messiah) after sixty nine of the weeks, a renewed destruction of the city and sanctuary, with desolating abominations, and, finally, the making of a firm covenant with many for the last week of the seventy, in the midst of which (or for half of which) sacrifice and oblation will be caused to cease (verse 26f).

An anointed one (or Messiah) is twice mentioned in the prophecy, and so is a prince (נגיד): see verses 25, 26. The first anointed one is identified with the first prince, and it is possible that they are all one person, though this is a matter of interpretation.

We saw in chapter 8 of this book, "The Year of the Messiah" (pp. 260-275), how the prophecy of the Seventy Weeks was interpreted in ancient times. It was always taken, both by Jews and by early Christians, to speak of weeks of years, and it was usually understood messianically, though (as with the prophecy of the fourth world-empire and the Son of man) there were some in the second century B.C. who tried to interpret it of contemporary events—hence the arbitrary alterations made to the prophecy in the Old Septuagint translation. All interpreters and translators until Clement of Alexandria and Hippolytus, at the beginning of the third century A.D., understand the seven weeks and the sixty two weeks of verse 25 to be a combined period of sixty nine weeks, at the end of which a single anointed one comes (even the Old Septuagint agrees on this); the Massoretic punctuation, which separates the seven weeks from the sixty two, and gives the impression that a different anointed one comes at the end of each, cannot

be traced until after the Jewish rejection of Jesus and the disappointment of the Jewish messianic expectations of the first and second centuries A.D. Nevertheless, it is by this change of punctuation, which has influenced most modern translations of Daniel and commentaries on Daniel, that the prophecy has come to be regarded as non-messianic. A non-messianic interpretation would have been quite eccentric in the first century A.D., as chapter 8 of this book shows. Even those who did not interpret the Son of man in Daniel 7 messianically did interpret the anointed one of Daniel 9 in that way, and by the first century the Old Septuagint translation of Daniel, which was an exception, was in the process of being replaced by more accurate Greek translations such as proto-Theodotion.

According to the prevailing interpretation of antiquity, then, the period from the restoration of Jerusalem after the Exile to the Messiah, the prince, would be just short of seventy weeks of years. After sixty nine weeks the Messiah would be "cut off" (כרת), that is, killed. Then the people of the prince that would come would destroy the city and the sanctuary, and this would happen, with desolating abominations, in the middle of the last week, when he would cause sacrifice and oblation to cease for the rest of that week. For the whole of the last week he would make a firm covenant with many.

Though there were, of course, differences of view on details of interpretation, and the idea of the Messiah being cut off was naturally difficult for Jews, this was a straightforward reading of the prophecy, and for Christians it would make consistent sense. It would speak of the death of Jesus, which was followed by the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, but which for Christians (the "many", רבים ,who were also justified by the Suffering Servant in Isa. 53:11) was followed by a new and firm covenant. The "prince that would come" could be the leader of the Romans, Titus, but the Messiah has here been called the "prince", and Jesus, in his great eschatological discourse, had apparently spoken of himself as "coming" in the judgement on Jerusalem, as well as at the end of the world; moreover, he had quoted Daniel in that connection, and probably this very prophecy of Daniel (Matt. 24:3, 15). It would no doubt be paradoxical for Daniel to call the Romans the people of the Messiah, but not more so than for Isaiah to call the Assyrians the rod of the Lord's anger (Isa. 10:5). At all events, the desolation of the Temple seems in this prophecy to be viewed as a judgement of God rather than as an assault against God, and no end is set to it: in this respect the prophecy is quite unlike the prophecies of the desolation of the Temple at the hands of Antiochus Epiphanes in Dan. 8:9-14, 23-25; 11:21-45; 12:11f.

Whether the better rendering in verse 27 is "in the midst of the week" or "for half of the week" is uncertain, but the question is of no great moment: whichever way the phrase is rendered, the effect is that for three and a half

years of the last week sacrifice and offering is made to cease; and it is presumably for the latter three and a half years of the week, since no end of the period is in sight. Comparing this with Rev. 11:2, one notes that the same period is mentioned, 42 months or three and a half years, in connection with the Gentile subjugation of Jerusalem. Here, then, in Dan. 9:27, is the probable origin of the period in Rev. 11:2. Because the Romans captured Jerusalem and destroyed the Temple in A.D. 70, sacrifice and offering was made to cease, and the holy city has since been trodden under foot by the nations. Just as Dan. 7:25 explains why the persecution of the church by the beast lasts for three and a half years in Rev. 13:5, so Dan. 9:27 explains why the Gentile possession of Jerusalem lasts for this period in Rev. 11:2. The former passage of Daniel probably explains also why the people of God is preserved from the malice of Satan for this period in Rev. 12:6, 14. Why the witness of the church continues for this period in Rev. 11:3 is harder to say: possibly it is just to show that it is for the same period as Jerusalem is trodden under foot by the nations in the previous verse, the earlier few decades of the church's witness being for these purposes ignored.

The great eschatological discourse of Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels is often spoken of as an example of "prophetic foreshortening": two parallel events, the judgement on Jerusalem within the same generation and the final judgement of mankind at the end of the world are foretold as if they will take place together. Many of the Old Testament prophecies which the New Testament sees as fulfilled in Jesus are of a similar character: they combine his coming to save and his coming to judge as if it were one event (e.g. Isa. 61:1f, as partially quoted in Luke 4:16-21; Mal. 3:1-6, as partially quoted in Matt. 11:9-11). And among the most striking examples of this phenomenon are those in the prophecies of Daniel.

The fourth world-empire in Daniel 7 is not only the period when a great persecutor is at work but is also the period when God intervenes to set up his own kingdom through the Son of man (verse 13f). If the Son of man is Jesus, he did indeed come in the time of the fourth world-empire, Rome, and "Son of man" is his favourite name for himself in the Gospels.[11] Yet the manner of his coming in Daniel 7, with the clouds of heaven, was clearly related by himself, both in his eschatological discourse and at his trial, to his second coming and not his first (Mark 13:26; 14:62; and parallels in Matthew); and it is understood in the same way in the Revelation of John

[11] That there is a corporate as well as an individual meaning to the expression "Son of man" in Daniel 7 is of course true, as it is with certain other Old Testament expressions interpreted of Jesus, like "Seed of Abraham" and "Servant of the Lord". A great controversial literature surrounds Jesus's use of the expression "Son of man" in the Gospels, but it is beyond question that in some passages at least he is alluding to Daniel 7—a conclusion which can only be evaded by declaring such sayings unauthentic.

(Rev. 1:7). Now, whether Christ's second coming, like his first, will occur during the world-empire of Rome is a very open question indeed. What seems to be happening is that, as elsewhere, an Old Testament prophecy of the Messiah's coming is being interpreted in relation to both Christ's comings, which belong together in their significance, though separated by a considerable space of time.

The last of the Seventy Weeks in Daniel 9 seems to be a similar case. Seventy is no doubt a round number, taking its cue as it does from the Seventy Years prophecy of Jeremiah, but the sixty nine weeks from the return after the Exile to the coming and death of the Messiah Jesus is a space of time which bears some relation to historical reality. If we date the return under Cyrus at 538 B.C., a period of 483 years from then is only 51 years short of Jesus's approximate date of birth and only 84 years short of his approximate date of death, or "cutting off". It is a good deal nearer to these dates than to the date of the murder of the high priest Onias III, about 171 B.C., which the Old Septuagint and many modern commentators take to be the meaning. But with the last of the Seventy Weeks it is quite different. Half of that week takes us from the death of Jesus to the destruction of Jerusalem (historically, a period of about forty years), and the other half of that week takes us from the destruction of Jerusalem to the end of history. Prophetic foreshortening indeed! And yet it is quite similar in principle to other Old Testament passages in which, if interpreted of Jesus, his two comings are spoken of as one, or to his own eschatological discourse, in which the destruction of Jerusalem and his second coming are spoken of as one: here his two comings are separated by a symbolic period of only seven years, in the middle of which stands the destruction of Jerusalem.

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Judaism and Christianity are both religions of history and remembrance and rely on calendars and accurate chronologies to recall and reenact the signal events in their histories. The import of dividing the day and night, of knowing the moment of Sabbath and Lord's Day, of properly timing Passover and Easter cannot be overstated. Throughout the history of both religions, these issues were central to worship and practice of religion and had far-reaching effects from messianism to prophecy. But their very centrality meant they were issues of controversy and debate. Roger Beckwith looks carefully at the Jewish and Christian records concerning calendar and chronology, compares, contrasts, and challenges rival solutions to these complex questions. His breath of research—from the ancient Near East to Qumran, from Josephus and Philo to the Maccabean writings, and from the points of view of Paul and Jesus to the Fathers of the church—and his focus on the more controversial issues of dating make *Calendar and Chronology* an essential book for any serious scholar of history, liturgy, worship, and interpretation.

Roger T. Beckwith is librarian of Latimer House, Oxford.

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